Indian Life; the Gran Chaco (South America) 000
[Indianerleben; El Gran Chaco (Südamerika)]

Erland Nordenskiöld

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Albert Bonnier

Translated from the Swedish into German by Carl Auerbach

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Chane SF8

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1-15, and Figs. 1-73 are omitted in the translation./

/148/ Chapter Nine

The Land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians

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Just as I have tried to give a picture of the life of the 101
Choroti and Ashluslay Indians, I shall also try to describe the
Chané and Chiriguano Indians and my various visits among them.
These Indians are considerably more advanced than the "savages" E Ee
of the Chaco. For the most part they live in a state of de- [177]
pendence on the whites, and their old unique culture is
disappearing more and more.

C
The Chiriguano are now also to a very considerable ex- 177
tent Christians. For more than 300 years, first the Jesuits 797
and then the Franciscans have tried, with varying results, to
convert them to the one soul-saving Christian faith. Even Cc
now there are several mission stations among the Chiriguano, 797 Ce
but none among the Chané. C

In the Chané and Chiriguano we meet people with a 101
higher culture, people who are entirely different from the
Indians about whom we have read in the preceding chapters.
Comparisons between the two types of culture that we come
across in the Chaco are, naturally, of interest. Cc

What will perhaps surprise the reader most is the fact C
that the two primitive cultures are able to exist side by side, 101 177
and have doubtless done so for centuries, without fusing, in-
deed, without learning from each other, and this even though
there are no natural boundaries here.

/148 cont./

114 133 [622] In May, 1908, as was said, I visited the Chané chief Vocapoy on the Rio Itiyuro in Argentina near the /149/ Bolivian border. This is one of the rivers that tries in vain to escape the wilderness of the Chaco. It rises in the most remote sources in the virgin forests of the Andes and disappears in the xerophytic forests of the Chaco.

123 648 Vocapoy was at odds with the whites who had usurped his land and would not accept his idea that they were merely his tenants. He asked my advice as to how he could persuade the whites to recognize the Indians' right to the land. I suggested that he appeal to the great chief of the whites, the President of the Republic, and assumed the position of land surveyor for the Indians. [126 823] I roved with the Indians through their territory and drew a little sketch which Vocapoy was to take along to the President. The Indians said my sketch was not good, and they themselves drew a map of the country.

361

Fig. 74. Vocapoy's village on the Rio Itiyuro.

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/150/ Unfortunately, I do not know whether Vocapoy undertook the long journey to the village of the great chief, but, as a result of the surveying, I won the confidence of the Indians.

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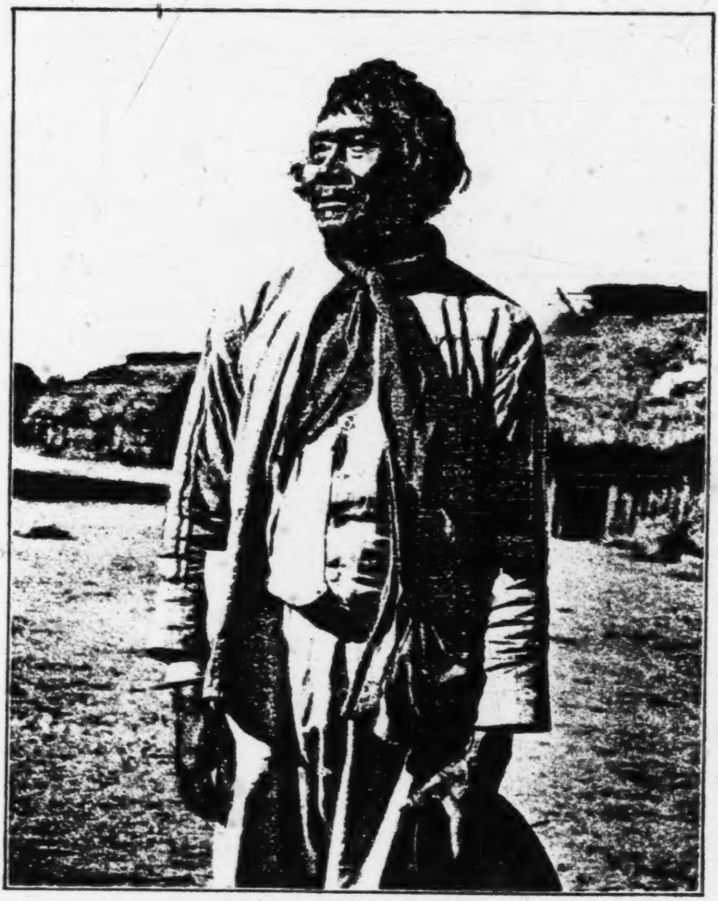

Fig. 75. Chané Indian.
Rio Itiyuro.

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When I left the Choroti and the Ashluslay at the end of July, 1908, I proceeded by way of Yacuiba to San Francisco on the /151/ Rio Pilcomayo. San Francisco was a mission station which the Franciscans had had among the Chiriguano, but which /Fig. 76 appears here/ has now been abandoned. Not far from it live the Tapiete Indians among whom I spent a week in August, 1908.

C /151 cont./

123
439 In Tihuîpa I opened a regular /152/ small produce store for a few days. Indian men and women, especially the latter, crowded around the shop counter. It was a peculiar shop. If an Indian woman came there with money in order to buy something, she was politely sent away by the clerk, but if she came with an attractive old clay vessel, she became the happy owner of corals, fire-red ribbons,

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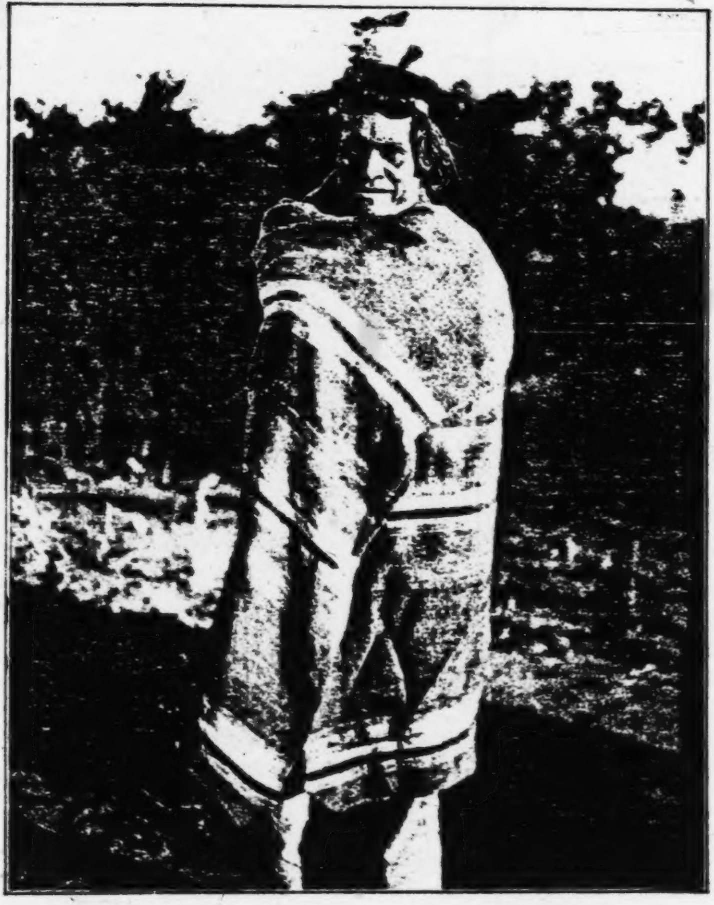

Fig. 76. Chané Indian.
Rio Parapiti.

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[437]

/152 cont./
earrings with real "diamonds," rings with "sapphires," or other 123
fine things, which she could then show off at the next drinking bout. 439

There are always two villages in these mission stations, 437
one for the heathens, one for the Christians. I myself always felt 361
more comfortable in the former, and this not only because more 797
fine, old things were to be collected there, but also because the
people there were friendlier, more tactful, and more polite in
their behavior. The mission children were importunate and impudent.

Near Machareti there is a large basin-shaped valley through 133
which flows a little brook that probably swells to a roaring river
after a violent tropical rain and disappears in the wilderness of the
Chaco. Quite near the mission it leaves the handsomely dissected [135]
mountains, where small petroleum springs trickle out everywhere
in the crevices of the cliffs. Then it flows through a hilly landscape
that gradually turns into the vast flat area of the Chaco.
The vegetation in these regions is not very luxuriant. The wood- 137
land, when such is present, is sparse, low, shrubby, and monoto- 241
nous. The fields seem to produce abundant harvests, the droughts
seldom too long. These regions are often devastated by huge 731
swarms of locusts. I have seen these destructive animals cover the 136
woodlands like large, reddish-brown clouds.

From Machareti we went by way of Itatiqui, a very interesting 114
Chiriguano village in an arid region, to the Rio Parapiti.

The latter comes from Pomabamba and Sauzes, from the 133
/153/ mountains of the Quichua /Quechua/ Indians. After it has
left these, in the rainy season, it is a roaring stream overflowing
its banks. In the dry season it carries little water. The Rio
Parapiti also ends in the Chaco. During the rainy season it is
lost in the swamps; in the dry season it disappears in the fine sand.
If the Rio Parapiti parades on the maps, as the southernmost
tributary of the Amazon River, this is only empty boasting on its
part. The woodlands along the Rio Parapiti consist mostly of 137
bushes and low, fine-leaved trees, caraguata, and cacti.

SF10
Tapiete SK13
Chane SF8

/153 cont./ C

In the dry season the wind heaps large dunes along the banks 133
of the river. After it has left the mountains, it does not receive 132
a tributary. The Rio Parapiti is very wide, but never deep.
During the driest period its bed is transformed into a sand desert
where the wind plays with the fine river sand. When it storms,
the sand is swept across the bottom of the river. If one wishes
to cross it on such days, one may perhaps not get his feet wet,
but he must shield his eyes. C

The Rio Parapiti is rich in fish, but the fish are tiny. The 13.
banks are quite fertile, but inasmuch as they are flooded during
the rainy season, the harvests are easily lost. Often in the
dry season everything is wasted by the scorching droughts. The
locusts, too, hawk about in these regions and leave behind in
their own unappetizing bodies a poor substitute for what they
have destroyed. C

On the Rio Parapiti, high up in the mountains, live the 101.
Quichua Indians, then come the Chiriguano, beyond them, near
the river, the Tapiete, also called Yanaygua, then the Chané,
and finally, in the unknown wilderness, the Tsirakua Indians. C

My first visit on the Rio Parapiti was paid to Father Carmelo, 114
who had a small mission station there among the Chiriguano. I 797.
became very fond of this monk; /154/ he had such confidence-inspiring
friendliness. He is one of the missionaries who are
needed here, people who desire and are able to sacrifice themselves
for others, who show an equally great friendship toward all. C

I now continued along the Rio Parapiti to Isiporenda on the 114
north bank of the river. The Tapiete live opposite Isiporendo. T [131]
I shall later describe a visit that I made to them. Ce

At Isiporenda I met the first Chané, or, as they are called 114
here, Tapuy. I then visited most of their villages. I made the [101
acquaintance especially of some of their storytellers, of whom 538
Batirayu, the nephew of the last great chief, Aringui, became 123]
my good friend. C

From the lower Rio Parapiti I proceeded by way of Charagua, 114
a village inhabited almost exclusively by whites, to the
Caipipendi valley, where I stayed with the Chiriguano chief
Taruiri.

/154 cont./ 13
One might be surprised that a person would want to live in 243
this treeless valley, where one finds only salty, dirty water, 273
but in the Caipipendi valley one need not drink water, for
here the maize yields magnificent harvests and there is never a
shortage of maize beer. The inhabitants of the Caipipendi 556
valley are wealthy, and if there is famine in other regions, the 437
Indians come from afar to these kinsmen, in order to barter 731
their valuables for maize.

For the collector, too, it is a magnificent valley. We 126
found silver ornaments, silver bowls, finely carved musical instruments, and many other rare articles in this ethnographer's paradise. Stone axes, ruins, diggings /Grabfelder/ of various peoples prove that the Caipipendi valley has long been highly prized by the Indians.

The water has cut deeply into this valley. In the rainy 133
season it probably rains there too. 132

From Caipipendi I returned over the mountains, through a 114
/155/ valley famous for its hot springs and its beauty, to [312]
Charagua, to continue then along the Andes in the direction of
Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

It was October, 1908. Not quite a year later, in July, 1909, I again visited the Chaco, after extensive river journeys far beyond, on the border of Brazil. In another book I shall describe these journeys on large, navigable rivers and through virgin forests whose luxuriant green is overpowering.

From Santa Cruz de la Sierra I returned, as was said, to the Chaco in July, 1909. I then traveled first of all by way of the Rio Grande to the Rio Parapiti, chiefly to visit my friend Batirayu.

The Rio Grande is the southernmost tributary of the Amazon /133
River. It comes from the highest mountains of the Andes and flows past Sucre, a city that has long contended with the city of La Paz for the rank of capital of Bolivia. When it emerges from the mountains, it is a roaring, mighty river. Farther down it has an extremely changeable, very little known course. North of Santa Cruz de la Sierra the Rio Grande receives the Rio

6: Nordenskiöld--8 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10
Chane SF8

/155 cont./ C
Piray and finally unites with the Rio Mamoré. A few Chiriguano 133
live along this river, and savage Tsirakua and Siriono also [10/]
rove about in the forests along it. C

Between the Rio Grande and the Rio Parapiti there is a 133
region with an extreme scarcity of water and largely covered 137
with completely impenetrable underbrush and low scrub forest 3/2
full of caraguata and cacti. This monotonous, dismal vegeta-
tion is interrupted here and there by hills and grassy plains. C

Besides the savage Tsirakua Indians who make these thickets 136.
unsafe, one finds another curiosity here, namely the guanaco C
(Auchenia). It is altogether strange to find an animal like the [132]
guanaco, which one thinks of only in connection with the cold ✓
plateaus of the Andes or the /156/ pampas of Patagonia, often
afflicted with frost, in this bush which is frequently scorched by
droughts. It would be interesting to be able to determine whether
this guanaco of the tropical forest is really the same as the one
known from the colder regions. Intelligent whites with whom
I have discussed this and who have seen both regard them, how-
ever, as the same species. Ce

Having returned to the Rio Parapiti, I looked up Batirayu, 115
with whom I had already become intimately acquainted in 1908
and who also speaks excellent Spanish.

With no other Indians with whom I became acquainted did I
become as close as with Batirayu. He understood that I was
collecting the old mementos out of an interest in his tribe.
Batirayu did his best to explain to me the religious conceptions
of his tribe. In the evening we used to sit in his room with a
cigarette, and he told about olden times, sorcerers, chiefs, Ce
and spirits. Occasionally an old chief, Bőyra, also came, and [22]
from him I heard many charming Chané legends. We would
sit until far into the night and chat by a flickering light that I
had with me in order to take notes. Ce

One would be very much mistaken if he were to believe that 115
the conversations with these men were merely an interesting 123
study. I felt comfortable with these fine, tactful, yes, why not,
cultured human beings. It was genuinely refreshing after coming
from the often vulgar, empty whites.

SF 10
Mojo SF15
Chane SF8

/156 cont./ Ce
from the often vulgar, empty whites. Batirayu, however, is also 115
an exceptional man, the makings of a great man, who is condemned C
to idleness. Ce

Batirayu is a Chané. These Indians now speak the same language 197
as the Chiriguano, namely, Guarani. Most of their customs 171
and usages correspond to those of the Chiriguano, by whom 648
they were probably subjugated. According to their origin, however, Ce
they are Arowaken /Arawak/ and hence the most southerly 101
dwellers of this group, which had, and still has, a wide distribution
in South America and on the Antilles. C Ce

/157/ If I describe the Chané and the Chiriguano together here, 128
it is because their material culture is so similar. Nevertheless, I 171
have indicated in which tribe I made this or that observation; 771
this is especially true for the religious domain, in which the Chané,
at least on the Rio Parapiti, have kept many old conceptions
which are unknown to the Chiriguano.

Batirayu told me that a few of the Chané still knew some Ce 197
words of the old language of the tribe. He said that especially 554
at the drinking bouts, when they are intoxicated, they give 273
themselves airs by speaking the old Chané language, which otherwise
has the character of a secret language. Ce

In the company of Batirayu I set out for the village of 124
"Huirapembe" where the Indians who knew Chané best were supposed 197
to be found. It was not easy to draw their secrets out of 114
them. Actually, only the youngest ones, who knew the least, M
were willing to tell me something (1). One old woman who was Ce
C,

1.

	Chané	Chiriguano	Mojo
Water	úne	y	une
Maize	sopóro	ahuâti	seponi
Fire	yucu	tâta	yucu
Dog	tamúco	yaúmba	tamucu
Chicha (good)	liqui	cángui	itico
Rat	cóvo	angúya	cozo.

192
197

/157 cont./ One old woman who was Ce
supposed to know Chané very well said she would teach me after 124
she had reached the realm of the dead. Since the Indians in 197
this happy place are not bothered by whites, and not by ethnographers 123
either, the promise of the old woman was not very
friendly, Ce

The Chané use their old language for many expressions 195
that are abusive, for example, karitimisóyti, which they translate 197
as son of a w---e. An invitation to coitus is called
pocóne. There are also songs in their /158/ old language, for Ce [533]
example, siparakinánoyé, siparakinánoyé, siparakinánoyé,
tonéya, tonéya, tonéya, which they did not know how to translate. C

From the Rio Parapiti I again visited the Chiriguano chief 114
Taruiri in the Caipipendi valley, where I sought to buy as many 126
old ornaments and other valuables as possible. Besides Taruiri
I also visited another chief, Yumbay, an old worthy who was
always embracing me and saying: "I am Yumbay." /Fig. 77 C
appears here./ "Yes, the great, mighty Yumbay," I chimed in, [123]
which made the poor reduced fellow feel very flattered. C

From the Caipipendi valley I went by way of Pipi to the 797
mission at Ivu. This lies in an arid, lonely region with little 164
water, near several huge mountains, and the life there must be [114]
dreadful. When smallpox was very prevalent in the region, [133]
Father Bernardino successfully prevented the disease from spreading [312]
into the mission by vaccinating all the Indians living at the
place. Father Bernardino is a truly unselfish human being, a
genuine missionary. As a result of the vaccination, no one in
Ivu died of smallpox, whereas the sinister disease raged frightfully
among the whites a few miles from the station. It almost C
served them right. If anyone died of smallpox, the corpse was [764]
laid on a table decorated with paper flowers and a crucifix.
Around this the other swine would get drunk and /159/ continue C
to drink obligos (1) until they were finally lying on the table. [273]

1. If a person drinks obligo with another, the C [576]
latter must drink up.

/159 cont./
In the village of Cuevo alone 60 out of 200 persons died within a short time. I visited the 140. They were as gay as ever. Spirits and beer were consumed in quantities. 114 [165] [275]

Father Bernardino was never given credit for this work, but rather the medicine men, who had bewitched the sickness so that it would not come to Ivu. The white colonists, too, occasionally had the medicine men come in order to /Fig. 78 appears here/ drive away the sickness. They did not believe in the vaccine either. 797 756

With Ivu as the starting point, I made a trip into the 114

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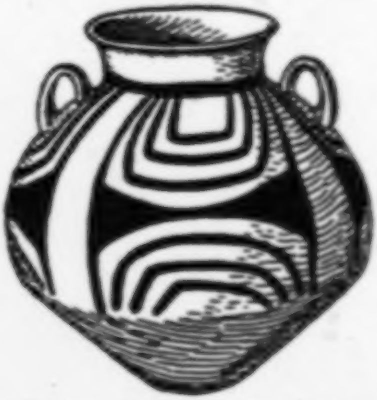


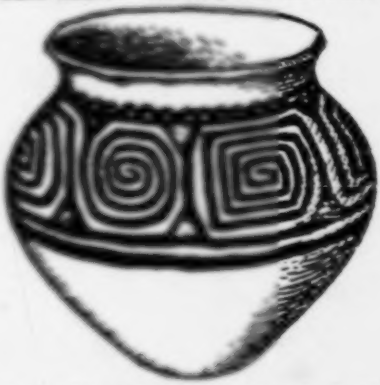
Fig. 77. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/6.

Igüembe valley, in order to visit the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 114
It was a charming ride on horseback up on the high crests and down into deep valleys, through an often grandiose, colorful landscape. These valleys are poor in forests. Only in a well-protected ravine in which a brook trickles forth is the vegetation luxuriant. [133] [137]

I soon became very good friends with old Maringay. The old man was conservative, clung to the old customs, and felt that the Indians should be on good terms with the whites, but should preserve their old habits and customs unchanged. His village was extraordinarily interesting and very rich in old, fine things. 123 157 172 443

/159 cont./
things. The ceramics /160/ which I found there belong among 323
the very best that I saw among these Indians (Figs. 77 and 78).

From Maringay I returned to Ivu by way of the mission station 361
of Santa Rosa. It has a wonderful location. Like an old fortress, 797
it is built on a narrow hill. Below it, in long rows, lie the [114]
grayish-brown Chiriguano huts surrounded by low woods of [342]
Mimosaceae, cacti, small algarrobas, and other fine-leaved [137]
trees. This woodland is seldom so dense that one cannot easily
get out of it without a bush knife. When I was in Santa Rosa, 132



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531

Fig. 78. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/7.

it was the dry season and everything was burned up. Here too, /132
however, rain probably entices the green out of the dry earth.
Sometimes the rain is so long in coming, however, that the [731]
Indians do not get any maize and that means -- hunger.

From Santa Rosa one looks far out over the mountains and 133
across the great plain of Boyuibe, over the country that was 648
the native land of the Chiriguano, where, at Curuyuquí, they
fought their last battle with the Christians, who assume the
right to rob all weaker peoples.

After my excursion to Maringay I left the land of the 114
Chiriguano and Chané and paid my second visit, already
described in this book, to the Choroti and Ashluslay.

SF10
Chané SF8

/160 cont. /

Ce 13

The region settled by the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is really very extensive. It is varied in nature, from luxuriant virgin forests to extremely arid valleys and plains poor in vegetation. It is in part very mountainous, but the Chiriguano and Chané are not mountain people. They stay down in the valleys and do not climb up to the peaks and plateaus, like the Quichua Indians.

Ce 136

Animal life in these regions is poor, in fact, very poor. A hunting people could never live there. Now and then a roebuck, a wild pig, a few ostriches, that is all one sees in the way of big game. Bird life, too, is very poor. /161/ The number of lakes is very small, and they are no larger than what we would call pools in Europe. On the Rio Parapiti one sees quite a large number of white egrets (1), famous for their valuable feathers. With regard to wood fowl, only the chicken called "pavas" (2) contributes to the diet. Occasionally one sees a large-billed "toucan" (3). Sleek pigeons, fattened on maize, often live in masses in the fields of the Indians. In the Rio Pilcomayo there is a great abundance of fish; in the little rivers the fish are small and poor. The Indians who live in these regions have to be farmers, and they are maize farmers to the highest degree. For them maize is food, drink, pleasure, everything!

Ce [133]

Ce [262]

Ce [243] [262] [273]

I have no adventures to report from among these Indians. Everyone may travel unharmed among them. The greatest sorrow of the ethnographer is that he is unable to collect all the interesting and old things that he sees there. One cannot take everything home.

000

1. Ardea.

2. Penelope.

3. Rhamphastus.

/161 cont./

In the wilderness of the Chaco there still lives a Chiriguano chief, Cayuhuari, in whose village no white man has been. It is said to lie on a big lake. Large herds of horses and cows graze there, and the maize granaries are always full. The Indians are rich there, because no whites are there. At least so it is said. 113 561

Cayuhuari, who has lived in the Chaco since the uprising in 1890, has an abducted white woman as a daughter-in-law. It is said that, with the Toba, he visited the sugar factories of northern Argentina. He had his daughter-in-law with him. The owners of the factory offered to rescue her from the Indians. "I do not want to leave them," she said. "With them I have my children." This answer honors her. 563

The manners and customs of the Chiriguano Indians have been described by several authors (4), mostly missionaries, /162/ so that we know more about them than about the Choroti and the Ashluslay. 114 797 [113]

A part of what I have reported about these Indians is not new, though seen in a new light. Nevertheless, various things, especially concerning religion, differ from the descriptions of the various missionaries. What I have gathered here is from the Chaco, and the missionaries know the Chiriguano best.

What I do not like in the various descriptions of the Indians by the missionaries is that they seem to be striving to paint their shortcomings in colors that are all too faint, so that their own "civilizing work" may seem as important as possible. The missionaries seem to me to be unable to describe the religion of the Indians objectively.

4. We find most of the literature cited by Domenico del Campana: "Notizie," etc., loc. cit. /"Notizie intorno ai Ciriguani (Notes on the Chiriguano)," Arch. per L'Anthr. e la Etn. Firenze, 1902. Page 61./

/162 cont./

C
[illegible]
797

When I read how the missionaries describe their own conquest of the land of the Chiriguano Indians, it does not please me to hear only about the courage of the former and the brutality of the latter. I do not deny that the missionaries were brave, but I admire more the love of freedom and the courage of the Chiriguano Indians. If it became too difficult for the monks, soldiers almost always came to their aid. The Indians yielded to the missionaries not only as a result of the "religion of love," but as a result of bullets and lead. The path to the one soul-saving church was not infrequently stained with blood.

/163/

Chapter Ten

From the Land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians

Indians as Geographers

S
823

Is there a single habitable place on the South American continent which has not been discovered by the Indians?

I venture to answer "no" to this question. We find Indians on the highest peaks of the Andes, there are Indians in the dry scrub forests of the northern Chaco, Indians rove about in the deep virgin forests of eastern Bolivia, the inhospitable islands around Tierra del Fuego are inhabited by Indians. In former times many Indians lived on the pampas of Argentina.

What a vast period of time these people required to discover every brook, every pool, every cliff, every grove on the South American continent. For four hundred years the white man with all his resources has sought to explore South America, and yet much more than one usually believes is still unexplored. He is acquainted with all the large rivers and trade routes in the interior of South America, but there are still vast regions that the foot of a white man has never trod. The Indians know every country, or at least have known it.

Chane SF8
S-Am. Indians S3

/163 cont./

S
823

The time it took to discover this continent and become adapted to the varying climate, the varying flora and fauna, has undoubtedly been very, very /164/ long. This is also proved by the hundreds of Indian languages known in South America.

The area that every Indian knows, as a rule, is not large, but he knows it in detail. As I have already mentioned, I undertook a roving expedition of about 250 kilometers in the forests with the Ashluslay Indians. This was in their own country, and they knew it perfectly. Single individuals, as a result of trade, know something about the country of friendly neighboring tribes.

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I always asked the Indians what tribes they had heard of and asked them to list these. They did so willingly, but they simply did not mention those tribes which they thought I did not know about. They did not wish to extend the white man's knowledge of the country unnecessarily. This is the reason why it is often so difficult to find a guide among the Indians. Anyone who leads the white man into a village unknown to him is a miserable traitor deserving death. The Choroti always say that there are no human beings in the interior of their country, from the Rio Pilcomayo on, where there has never been any whites. The Ashluslay Indians were greatly astonished when I described to them the characteristic possessions of the Tsirakua Indians and told them about the Yanaygua /Tapiete/. That the white man knew about these tribes was completely incomprehensible to them.

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(823)

The knowledge of the Indians about the continent that they inhabit is not very comprehensive. No Indian south of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, for example, is acquainted with those living north of this city. Strangely enough, the Rio Paraguay is known to the Chané Indians. They did not know the tribes there. A great chief lives there, they said. They asked me whether I had been sent by this chief to collect all the objects of ancient times, so that they would not be lost. It was to this great chief in Paraguay that an old storyteller was

Cc 829 /164 cont./
referring when he addressed a farewell speech to /165/ me, which began as follows: "Now you can tell your great chief that you saw us and our poverty..."

G S 823 The sense of direction of the Indians has been discussed a great deal. The Indian undoubtedly has a very highly developed gift of observation, but his sense of direction is not so G 823 considerable. I wandered with the Guarayú Indians in eastern Bolivia for about 250 kilometers in deep, large forests which they did not know, and in which we often had to cut a path,

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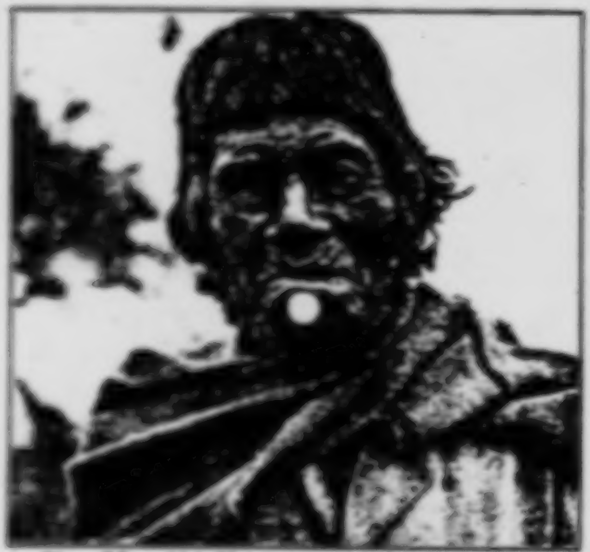

Fig. 79. Old Chiriguano with large lip-plug. Tihuipa.

G 823 step by step, with the bush knife. When the sun was covered with clouds, they often led me astray, as I could see by my compass. For a white man transplanted directly from city life into the wilderness, the Indian's intimate acquaintance with nature is remarkable. If one is accustomed to this life himself, he looks at the matter differently.

Chane SF8
S-Am. Indians 53

/166/

The distance from one place to another is expressed by all Indians by showing how far the sun must go before one arrives. If it is far, the Indian tells how many overnight camps one must pitch to reach there. Among us, too, of course, in different regions there are different ideas about long and short routes. What we call far in the city is often called short in the country. For the Indian, routes that seem short to the white man are, as a rule, long. The Indians of the virgin forest lack the marching ability that we find among the highland Indians.

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The Indian has given a name to every hill, every plain, every glen. The Chané say that long ago, when all peoples fished on the banks of the Parapiti River, a great spirit (añatunpa) came on horseback and gave the various places names. This river is to be called Parapiti (where there is killing), this place Amboró, etc., said Añatunpa. Of the names of Chané villages, there are to be mentioned: Hũirayũasa (birds meet), Aguaráti (white fox), Aguarátimi (little white fox), Yõvi (green water, Ouivarénda (where there is chuchio) (1), and so forth. The last-named plant, the flower stalk of which is used by many Indian tribes of South America as an arrow shaft, has now been destroyed by the cattle herds on the Rio Parapiti. The Chané, who formerly made their arrow shafts out of chuchio, now plant a type of reed which they use for arrow shafts, as do the other Chaco Indians. Other places are named after chiefs, such as Tamachindi, Tamané, and Corópa. They call one village Yahuanau. Formerly there was a swamp there, on whose banks small black creatures (yahuanau) were wont to sun themselves. Many Chané place names are untranslatable; I know of one that is indecent. A few Indian place names are undoubtedly very old, for they refer to plants, lakes, or swamps that no longer exist. In the /167/ Caipipendi valley on the Parapiti there

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[411]

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1. Arundo saccharoides.

SF 10
Chane SF 8
S-Am. 51
S-Am. Indians 53

/167 cont./

Ce 103 C 361

is a village called Tapiirenda. The valley is now inhabited exclusively by Chiriguano, and none of them remembers that, as the name of the place indicates, Tapii (Chané) lived there.

St 103

The place names of the Indians of higher standing are retained by the whites, even if they have become the masters of the country. Thus, almost all the places inhabited by them in Chiriguano territory have Guarani names, such as Charagua (name of the cliffs peculiarly carved out by the water), Carandaiti (where palms grow). The place names of the lower tribes, on the other hand, are not kept by the whites. Thus, no white knows the Mataco or Choroti names of the various places on the Rio Pilcomayo. The settlements of the whites are named after saints, Bolivian statesman, and explorers. If a tribe, for example, the Choroti, becomes extinct, there is nothing left of its language in the place names. Investigators of place names should not overlook this.

S 177 823

Through association with the whites, the geographical knowledge of the Indians has been extended considerably. They go farther and farther away to seek work, and they see countries which they had never heard of before.

The Indian as Historian

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If we wanted to write the history of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we could not go back very far in time. It is only in the last decades that we see them mentioned more specifically in the literature. On the other hand, we already know about the Chiriguano, from their battles with the great ruler, Inca Yupanqui, from the period before the discovery of America. Garcilasso de la Vega (1) reports on his attempts

C 175 648

C [113]

1. Garcilasso de la Vega. The Royal Commentaries of the Yncas. Vol. I-II. Hakluyt Society. London, 1869 and 1871.

/167 cont./ C

to conquer the land. His description of the Chiriguano as a cannibalistic race of extremely low standing /168/ surely originated in his own imagination. The tradition about these battles has been preserved in the mountain valleys. 175 648

The territory of the Chiriguano, in spite of the centuries-long valiant defense, was conquered, step by step, in the Spanish era. As recently as 1890 part of them made a last attempt at rebellion, but they were defeated, as has been mentioned, in the battle at Curuyuqui, on the plain of Boyuovis. About 5,000 Indians had gathered there and for a whole day fought the whites in an unequal battle against fire-arms. The battle had begun in the morning and it had not yet ended in the evening when it grew dark. The situation was becoming extremely unpleasant for the whites, since their ammunition was almost gone. Unfortunately, however, the morale of the Indians was broken. They abandoned their entrenchments in the quiet of the night. C

Another very important chapter in the history of these Indians is the long and persistent effort of the missionaries to conquer the land of the Indians in a comparatively peaceful manner. This is treated in detail in the literature. 175 797

C Ce 829

Here, however, I do not wish to speak of the history of these Indians as we know it through the literature, but of the Indian as historian.

C ce [173]

If one talks to the Indians, they do not know much about their own history; their tradition does not go back very far. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti told me they had first lived on the upper Rio Parapiti (1), but were driven away from there by a great chief. Some remained where they are now living, others set out through the Chaco to the Rio Paraguay, which river,

ce 173 648 [131]

ce [113]

ce [167]

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1. This is confirmed by Viedma: Descripcion geografica y estadistica de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Coleccion Pedro de Angelis. Buenos Aires, 1836. Vol. III. Pages 180-181.

SF10
Chane SF8

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[1017]c

/168 cont./
as has been said, /169/ is not unfamiliar to the Indians. On the Rio Paraguay Arowaken /Arawak/ are also found.

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The Chiriguano first lived on the lower Rio Parapiti and were driven away from there by the Chanê. This is Figs. 80 and 81 appear here/ possibly "official history," for more probably the Chiriguano drove the Chanê out of the fertile valleys of the upper Rio Parapiti.

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Batirayu told me everything that he knew about the history of the Chanê Indians on the Rio Parapiti. The last great /170/ chief was Batirayu's uncle, Aringui. He led many Indians of his tribe to Argentina to work. His predecessor was Yámbáe. Before him Ochoápi was invested with the position of chief. In his time the whites began to push into the country. This chief is described as an important man who sought to introduce the manners and customs of the whites among his Indians. Ochoápi is known for his extensive journeys and his persecution of sorcerers. He was said to have been in Buenos Aires. Before him Chótchori had the position of chief. In his time the whites had not yet come as far as the lower Rio Parapiti. Here the tradition comes to an end. The chiefs mentioned here were of the same family /Geschlecht/, but the rule does not pass from father to son.

Ce
[177]

Ce
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I could relate a bit of history about the Chanê on the Rio Itiyuro, but I do not wish to be boring with too many names. There, too, tradition does not go back far, three generations, that is all.

In the legends of these Indians, several of which I have given below, we learn nothing about the history of these peoples. No historical events seem to have been recast into legends there. They have entirely different themes.

It is really quite strange that among these Indian tribes their history, the names of the chiefs, have been forgotten, whereas the legends have undoubtedly been preserved, though in altered form, from generation to generation for centuries. It is chiefly the wide geographical distribution of the legends that speaks for their great age.

6: Nordenskiöld--22 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10
Chane SF 8

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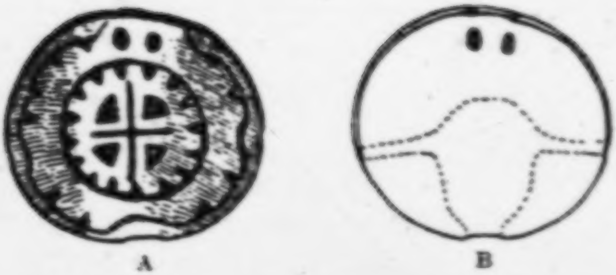

Fig. 80a. Pipe. "Huiramimbi." Tihuipa.

b. Shows a in cross-section. 2/3.

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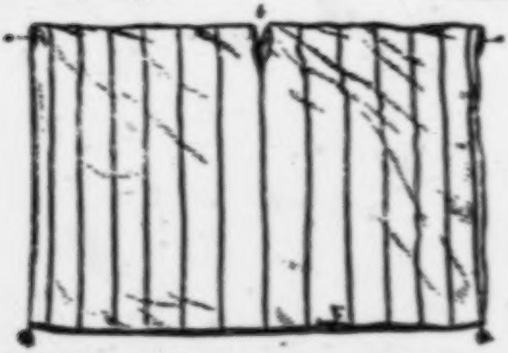

Fig. 81. Festive attire for men. "Tirucumbai." Chané. Rio Parapiti. 1/22.

b = opening for the head. a = armholes.

6: Nordenskiöld--23 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF 8

/170 cont./ Ce
The legendary figures and their experiences stimulate the 173
imagination, are preserved and retold. The historical person-
alities and events are forgotten. Ce

If one looks in Chané and Chiriguano houses, one finds 523
many things preserved which are now no longer in use, /171/ Ce
but which they value as mementos of earlier times and often do
not want to give up. For example, one sees handsome round [276]
pipes, "huiramimbi" (Ill. 80), which have undoubtedly been [721].
handed down from generation to generation. They were formerly
used in connection with expeditions of war. Old Maringay had c
kept all kinds of things from olden times. It gave me great 523-
pleasure to rummage about in the old man's storage places. I 123
wanted to buy something from him, but felt embarrassed to offer 126.
him money for his mementos.

I once found a bundle of fine, old, completely smoke-
blackened arrow-points stuck into the walls. "Would you not
like to sell them to me?" I asked my old friend hesitatingly.
"You shall have three as presents," said Maringay. After this
refusal I let him keep his cherished things. Ce

Once I rode away from Vocopay's village in order to look 523
up an old Chané who had an attractive old costume. After 123
some hesitation he showed it to me. He had carefully wrapped 126.
it in other material. Like an enthusiastic museum official taking
out an old gem, he unwrapped it carefully. One unmistakably saw
how dear it was to him. Although I offered him a very high price, c
he did not want to sell it. Ce

The fact that these Indians love their old keepsakes shows 523
that they have a certain degree of culture. This is true only of 178.
the old people, however. The young ones are no longer like c
that; they sell everything without hesitation. What do they Ce
care about a worn-out old festival costume if they can get a [177].
red, fluttering scarf and trousers with jacket in exchange! The
triumphal march of trousers across the world has also reached
these valleys and plains. Ce

The Chiriguano and Chané no longer carry on regular war 721
with other Indian tribes. Occasionally, however, the Chané c [721]
on the Rio Parapiti make raids on
the Tsirakua Indians.

SF10
Chane SF 8

/171 cont./ 000 C 648

on the Rio Parapiti make raids on the Tsirakua Indians. The Ashluslay also maintain, as my interpreter told me, that /172/ the Toba chief Taycolique, during his invasion of their territory in 1909, had several Chiriguano with him.

Ce 727

Batirayu said that in former times the Chané brought home the heads of their slain enemies and set them up on the plazas of the villages during festivals.

Ce 415 531

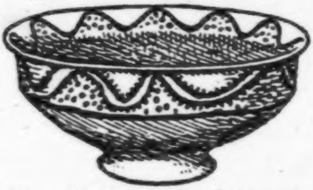

Fig. 82. Clay vessel of the Chané. 1/4.
Rio Parapiti.

/173/

Chapter Eleven

From the Land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians

Everyday Life in the Chané and Chiriguano Huts

C Ce 361 184 114

As a rule, I felt very comfortable in the huts of the Chané and Chiriguano. The life in these villages is exactly the same. If one describes one village, he has described almost all of them.

C Ce 361 [162]

Like all the other Indians whom I visited south of Santa Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia, these Indians live in villages. Some of these villages are quite large and inhabited by several hundred persons. Often many villages lie close together. The huts, as a rule, lie around a market place on which sweetsop trees are occasionally planted for shelter in the rainy season. The market places serve as playgrounds and meeting places. The huts, in contrast to the round Choroti and Ashluslay huts, are square, and their doors, facing the village, are set in the gable. They are made of cane or wooden slats, with roofs of grass. Not infrequently they are plastered with earth.

C Ce [137]

C Ce 342

SF10

Chane SF8

C

/173 cont./ Ce

Under the influence of the whites, however, the Chané and Chiriguano are gradually changing their huts, and many Indians are already building huts that are identical with theirs. 342 177

No hut here has its original Indian form. The genuine Chiriguano huts (the original Chané huts are not known) were very large; up to 100 persons lived in one house, and the entire /174/ village consisted of only a few large huts (1). These C 342 178 [361] [592] [171]

evidently correspond to the large family houses well known in Brazil, which I saw in Bolivia only among the Chacobo, a Pano tribe from Lago Rojo-Aguado.

Even in Viedma's (2) time, at the end of the eighteenth century, /Fig. 83 appears here/ however, they seem to have given up the original type of house and built smaller huts.

C Ce 343

In many villages there belongs to each hut one or more maize granaries (Fig. 84a), in which maize, gourds, etc. are /175/ stored. These granaries are built on piles and are perhaps a reminder of the time when the Chiriguano and Chané lived in swampy regions. To each granary there belongs, as a rule, a ladder (Fig. 84b). Sometimes the granaries and the dwellings are built together into one house. /Fig. 84a appears here./ I saw such huts in the vicinity of Machareti and at Yatavéri, not far from Ivu. Not infrequently the granaries stand in the fields, far from the dwellings. Ee [361] [174] C Ce 342 343

These villages are neat and clean. Huts and market place are swept daily and the refuse is burned. C Ce 364

The space in the huts is not too cramped. /176/ In each house, as a rule, there lives only one family, which, aside from the rest of the family members, sometimes consists of the husbands Ee 592

1. Annua de la Compañia de Jesus. -- Tucuman y Perú -- 1596. Relaciones geográficas de Indias. Madrid, 1885. Vol. II. Page CIV. C [113]

2. Viedma: loc. cit.

C /176 cont./
Ce of the daughters, who, during the betrothal and at the beginning
592 of the marriage, live with the mother-in-law. In front of
C the hut is the large hearth (Ill. 83) where the maize beer,
Ce and sometimes also the food, is cooked. /Fig. 84b appears
592 here./ Inside the hut there is likewise a hearth where cooking
354 is done and where one seeks warmth on cold nights and days.

Ce
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415
417
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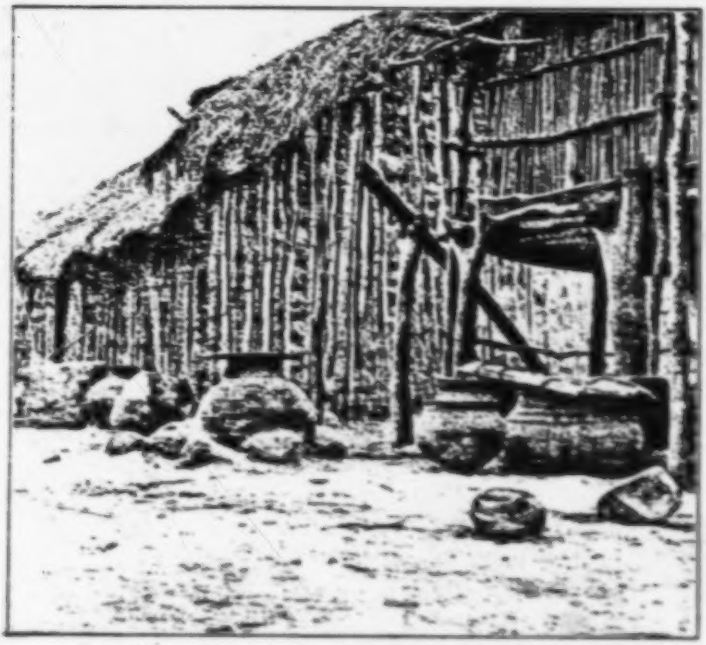

Fig. 83. Hearth for boiling maize beer. Chané village. Rio Itiyuro. To the right in the picture, large vessels in which the maize beer ferments. The house is plastered with earth.

C
Ce I have slept in these huts many a night. They are, as a
342 rule, free of vermin, which cannot be said of the dwellings
122 of all other Indians and of the houses of the whites. The sleep-
136 ing place either consists of a bed made of a species of bamboo
352 cane, or one lies /Plate 16 appears here/ /177/ on the ground
513 on a reed mat or a skin. One also sees hammocks in the huts.
ooo

C
Ce
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171

/177 cont./one also sees hammocks in the huts but they are not common. The hammock is native to tropical South America, but it disappears toward the south and in the mountains, for there it is too cold to use it. /Figs. 85 and 86 appears here./

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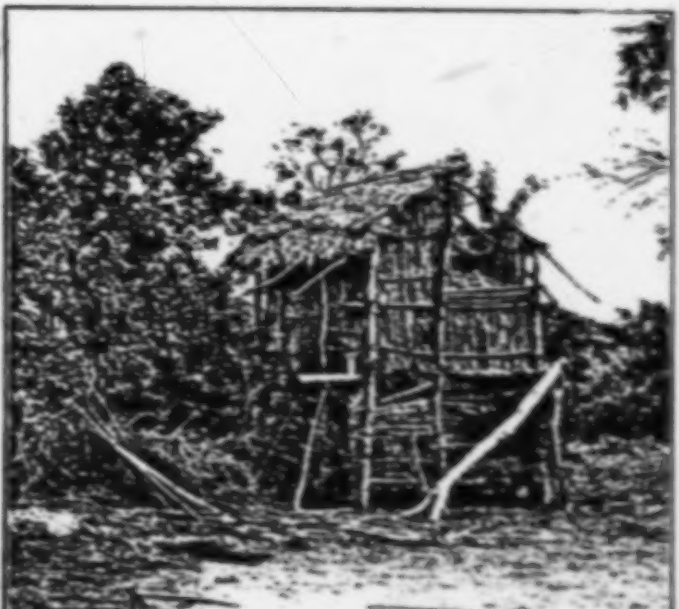

Fig. 84a. Maize granary. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

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[251]

From the roof of the hut, on hooks and racks, hang clothing and provisions, medicine, and other things. Here the men also keep their bows and arrows, their drums, and similar things. Maize ears are hung by liana loops.

SF10
Chané SF8

/177 cont./

Ce
342
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It is very cozy in a Chané or Chiriguano hut, especially in the evening when they all creep toward the beautiful, warming fire, when tongues wag, the old ones tell stories, the mothers put their little ones to bed, the young couples sit apart and whisper.

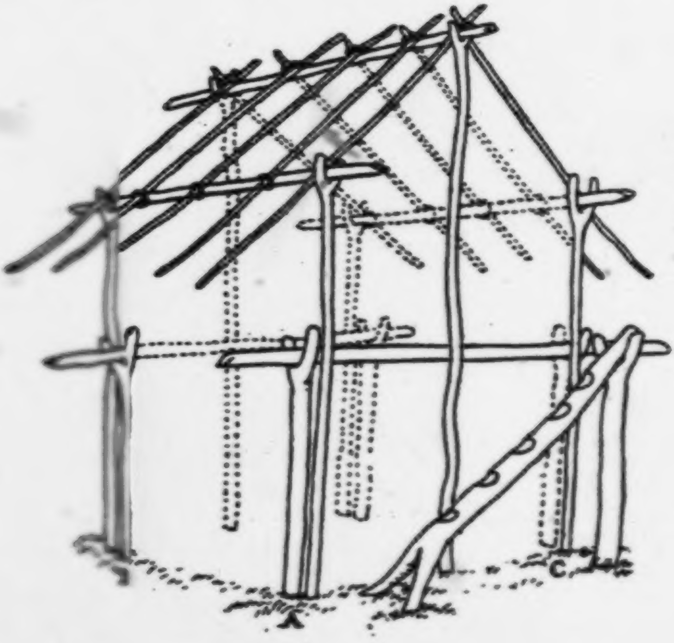

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Fig. 84b. Illustration showing the construction of the granary.

Plate 16. Caraguata. A plant used in a variety of ways by the Indians in the Chaco.

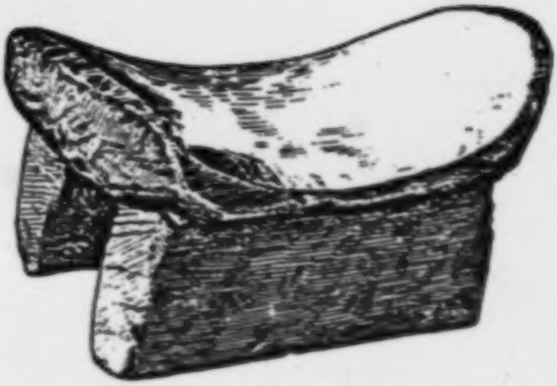

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Fig. 85. Seat. Chiriguano. Tarairi. 1/5.

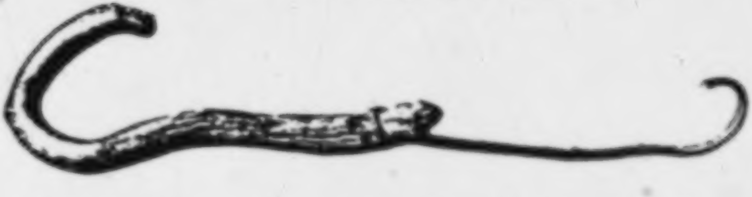

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Fig. 86. Hook for hanging things. Chiriguano. 1/6.

C
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171

/178/

Now and then one sees a seat carved out of wood (Fig. 85) in a shape especially familiar from the Brazilian Indians.

C
Ce
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[353]

A great many clay vessels of all dimensions are always standing along the walls of the huts. Some of them are so large that a man could crawl into them. There /179/ are pots, there are

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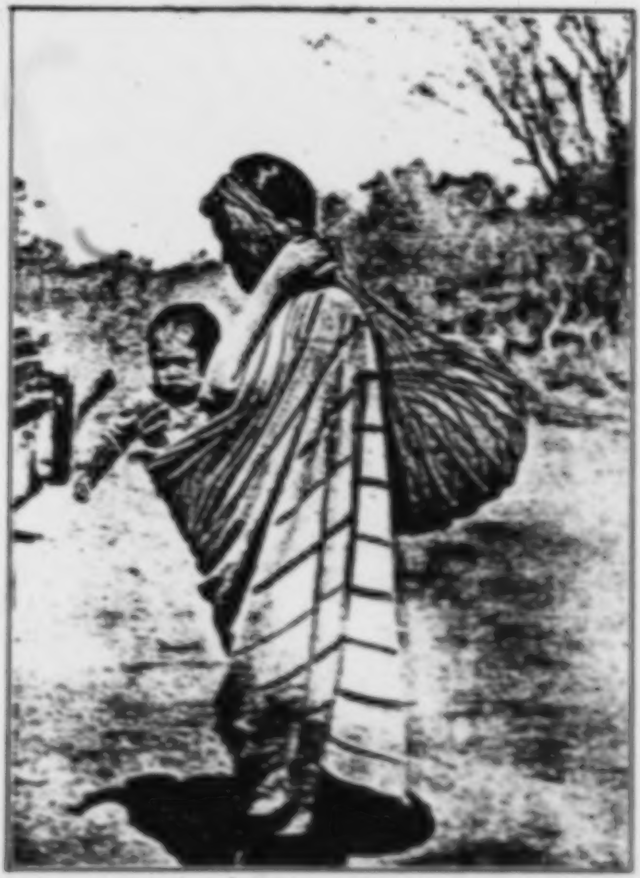

Fig. 87. Chané woman. Rio Parapiti. She has a water jug in the carrying net.

C
Ce
415

Ce
[556]

roasting bowls, there are handsomely painted vessels which are brought out for the festivals, and there is the treasure pot, in which the housewife keeps all the valuables and souvenirs of the family. In it, if the home is "well-to-do," lie clothing,

SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ca
415
556

/179 cont./
ornaments, bowls of silver and necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla, and many other things.

C
Ca
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836

It is quiet very early in the villages. People do not talk all night, as in a Choroti or Ashluslay village. The young men and the unmarried young girls do not rove about in order to lie together. The virtuous Chané and Chiriguano girls are guarded by their mothers, do not seek adventure, and do not admit gentlemen callers. There are no nocturnal meals, as among the Choroti and Ashluslay. In these villages people sleep at night, that is, if they are not busy brewing maize for a festival.

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C
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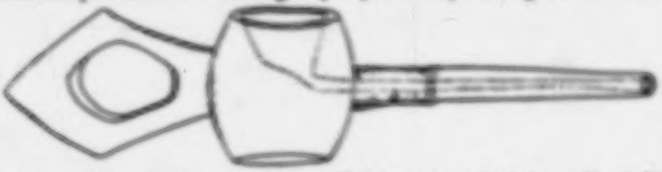

Fig. 88. Tobacco pipe. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/2.

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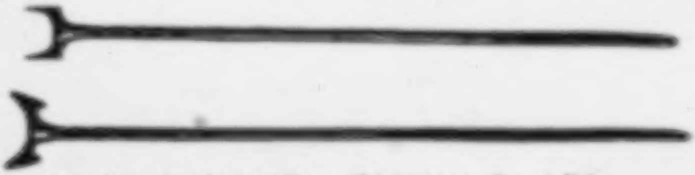

Fig. 89. Spade handle. Chiriguano. Ca. 1/15.

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Ea
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[illegible]
533
765

Very early in the morning one is awakened in almost all villages by songs of lament. There is always someone who has lost a relative and mourns him loudly. If someone has died in the village, it is uncomfortable in the village for a person who likes to sleep late.

Ea
515
92

/180/ The women get up at the earliest hour in the morning, the men *somewhat later, and the daily work begins. The first* thing that the women do is to fetch water and take a bath, a truly refreshing bath.

Ea
512
482

They carry the water jugs in various ways. On the Rio Itiyuro the Chané women carry them on the shoulder, on the Rio Parapiti in a carrying net (Fig. 87). The latter custom is also

6: Nordenskiöld--33 E-S (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/180 cont./ Ec
the most common among the Chiriguano. Only those women who live with the whites and have adopted their manners and customs carry jugs on their heads. 512 482 [177]

Division of Labor between the Sexes

C Ce

Here too, as among the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians, each sex, as a rule, has its specific work, as we see from the following table: 462 171

Table showing the division of labor between men and women among the Chané and Chiriguano.

	Men	Women
Fishing . . .	+	+ (1)
Hunting . . .	+	
Planting, clearing . .	+	
sowing . .	+	+
reaping . .	+	+
Cooking	(2)	+
Carrying wood . . .	+	+ (3)
Carrying water . . .		+
Preparing intoxicating drinks		+

	Men	Women
Gathering wild fruits and tubers		+
Ceramics . . .		+
Woodworking . .	+	
Knotting nets . .	+	
Plaiting rope . .	+	
Plaiting mats . .	+	
Tying hammocks .		+
Leather work . .	+	
Making weapons .	+	

Ec

1. As a rule, the women fish in shallow water, the men in deep water. [226]

C Ce

2. Sometimes take part in the preparation of the hunting booty. [252] [224]

Ce

3. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti. [482]

6: Nordenskiöld--34 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/181/

Ce 462
Ce [464]
Ce [342] [842]

	Men	Women		Men	Women
Decoration of calabashes	+		Raising animals. .	+	+
Building houses	+ (1)		Sewing	+	+
Weaving	+ (2)	+	Basketry	+	
Spinning thread .	+		Day labor for the whites . . .	+	+ (3)
Plaiting bands . .	+				

1. On the Rio Parapiti the Chané women gathered the material for the roof, that is, long grass.

2. Only in the case of Maringay.

3. Not important, actually only on the Rio Parapiti.

Ce [198] If one compares this table with the one on page 94 /omitted in the translation/, one finds that heavy wood-carrying and the building of houses has been almost entirely transferred from the women to the men among the higher-standing Chané and Ce [171] Chiriguano. Strangely enough, certain industries, for example, the production of clay vessels, are women's work in almost every primitive Indian tribe. Similarly, the calabashes are decorated everywhere by the men, who also do all woodworking. The reason that the women too fish here is because a number of these Indians live on rivers with little water, in which only small fish live, and in catching them the courage and strength of the fisher are not put to any test.

/181 cont./

Branches of Subsistence Ea

Fishing and hunting do not play an important role among the 241 Chané and Chiriguano. As I have mentioned before, they are [226 farmers, primarily maize farmers. These Indians live so ex- 224] clusively on maize that for them all other food plays a subordinate role. The Indians living on the Rio Parapiti are an exception; Ea they plant more sweet potatoes than maize, and these yield an [184] excellent harvest in their country.

/182/ The following plants are grown by the Chané and Ea Chiriguano: 241

Sweet potatoes.
Maize.
Squash (Cucurbita pepo Lin.).
Calabash fruits.
Beans of different varieties.
Cotton.
Urucú.
Tobacco.
Tuna (for example, at Yatavéri). Opuntia.
Millet.
Mandioca (rare).
Reed for arrow shafts (on the Rio Parapiti). Ea

In the plantings of these Indians I saw neither ordinary potatoes [197 nor bananas. The sweet potatoes, according to Batirayu's state- 177] ments, were introduced at a late period by the whites. Tobacco-raising is insignificant. The Chané and Chiriguano are not Ea great smokers. They mostly smoke cigarettes in maize leaves, 276 seldom pipes (Fig. 88). Among them one need not give his pipe to a neighbor for further smoking.

It is strange how the use of tobacco differs among the Indian Ea tribes. The Aymara and Quichua /Quechua/, who chew coca, 276 very seldom smoke. They have no taste for it. The Chacobo 171. and Atsahuaca, two tribes with whom I became acquainted on my travels, smoked just as little. When I offered a Chacobo a over

SF 10
Chane SF 8
Pacaguara SF 9

When I offered a /182 cont./ Chacobo a cigarette, he took only a few puffs, kept the smoke in his mouth for a few seconds, and then threw the cigarette away. Nevertheless, the Chacobo plant tobacco, but use it exclusively as a remedy. If a Chacobo gets a "boro," a fly larva, "Dermatobia," under his skin, he covers the fly larva's entry spot with tobacco powder and is then able to squeeze out the dead larva in a few hours. The Choroti and Ashluslay are passionate smokers. /183/ For them smoking is one of the greatest enjoyments of life. These contrasts are quite strange.

0
276
209
[797]
C Ca
276
171

The Chiriguano and the Chané have extensive plantings which, in contrast to the clearings of the Choroti and Ashluslay in the wilderness, are well tended. In former times they used spades made of hard wood with attractive handles (Fig. 88), but these have now gone out of use and have been entirely supplanted by iron spades. Not infrequently the fields lie far from the villages, as, for example, in the Caipipendi valley. This is due to the fact that water is not available throughout the year everywhere in the vicinity of the plantings.

Ea
241
[812]
[77]
C Ca
[312]

As has been mentioned, the produce obtained is stored in granaries built on piles (Fig. 84), so that it will be at least somewhat protected from rats, moisture, etc. These granaries are seen everywhere, except among the Chané on the Rio Pilcomayo.

C Ca
251
343

The fields are fenced in with fences built brush-shaped, which are often difficult to climb over. There is no fertilization of the fields. On the other hand, a field that has been exhausted is left to lie fallow.

Ea
241

The time of sowing is determined by the position of the Pleiades, "yaku." When this passes across the horizon very early in the morning, it is sowing time. When the rainy season begins, everything must be sowed.

Ea
[822]

The men clear and sow. Everyone helps with the harvest, men, women, and children. Among the Chané in the Itiyuro valley the men sowed the maize, that is, they took care of the larger plantings, whereas the women were gardeners and planted gourds, beans, etc.

Ca
241
462
C
[241]
[462]

SF10
Chane SF1

/163 cont./

The Chané and the Chiriguano are not great hunters. Perhaps in former times there was more hunting. Their hunting weapons consist of bow and arrow. For hunting wild pigs they use clubs; for ostrich hunts the boleadora /bola/, "churina," was formerly used. Snares and bird nets are also found. In former times the hunters wore /164/ a costume of leather cut in imitation of a European cut, obviously copied from the Spaniards (1). This

E
Ca
224
[410]
[223]
E
Ec
[292]
[177]

1. Viedma already mentions this costume, p. 101.

Ec
252
E
Ec
[223]
411

was not permitted to hang in the house. Formerly, also among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti, no meat could be cooked in the house; rather, this had to be done a short distance away. Boys are, of course, eager hunters of small birds. Like the men, they sometimes use clay-projectile bows.

Ck
224
[illegible]
784

There are hunting dogs specially trained for hunting wild pigs. In a Chané village on the Rio Itiyuro I saw how all the dogs had a red cross painted on their heads, so that they would not be bitten by a mad dog running about in the vicinity. It was truly amusing to see how these heathen Chané protected their dogs against rabies with the sign of the cross.

Ca
224
734

Batirayu told me that Chané men, when they go hunting, are not permitted to sleep with their wives the night before.

Fishing is carried on differently in the various rivers.

E
Ec
226
[862]

In the Rio Itiyuro women and children almost exclusively do the fishing. There are only small fish there too. I saw three methods of fishing there. Angling, fishing with calabashes, and fishing by damming up pools. The fishhooks consist of bent needles obtained from the whites. Floats and sinkers are not used.

Fishing with calabashes is done in the following way. Several bunches of leaves, which give shade, are stuck in the bottom of the river, and in front of each of these is placed a calabash (Fig. 30) with sour, ground maize (residue from beer brewing). The fish gather in the calabashes, which are taken out from time to time by the women. The latter creep toward the calabash, quickly place a hand over the opening, lift /165/ it up, and then empty the contents into pots along the river bank.

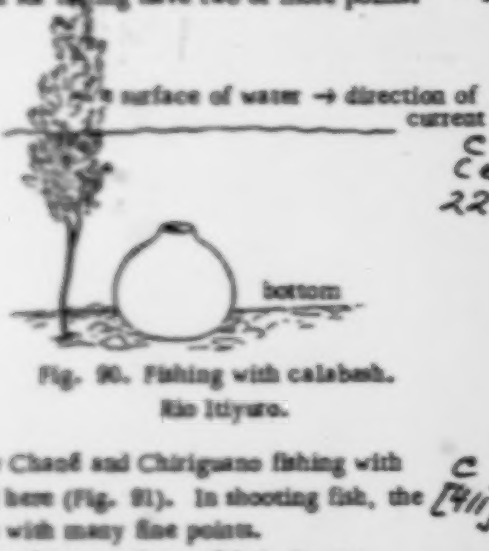
SF10
Chane SF8

/185 cont./ Ee

Another method of fishing often used in the aforementioned 226 river is to dam up longish pools in the sand, in which fish gather. After the water is emptied out of the pools, the fish are caught. Sometimes the pond is made to terminate in a channel closed off with a scoop net /Ketscher/, from which the fish cannot escape. Ee

All the fishing that I saw on the Rio Itiyuro was done during [132] the dry season, on hot, sunny days.

C
On the upper Rio Pilcomayo the Chiriguano fish with fishhooks 226 obtained from the whites, with nets similar to the dip nets of [197] the Choroti, though smaller, and by shooting the fish with bow [411] and arrow. The arrows used for fishing have two or more points.



Ee
226

Fig. 90. Fishing with calabash.
Rio Itiyuro.

On the Rio Parapiti I saw Chané and Chiriguano fishing with C a net of the type illustrated here (Fig. 91). In shooting fish, the [411] Chiriguano there use arrows with many fine points.

In these last-named rivers the men always fish in deeper water with nets and with bow and arrow, whereas the women are content to catch small fish where the water is dammed when the river is half dry.

Ee
Not infrequently the Indians undertake long journeys in order to 226 fish. Thus, the Chané sometimes during the /186/ dry season 184 visit the swamps "Madrejones" in which the Rio Parapiti disappears. [133]

/186 cont./ C Ce

It is strange that peoples who fish so much are acquainted with 226 so little fishing gear. In my description of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we have already become familiar with this deficiency.

On the Rio Pilcomayo, Moberg and the author once wanted to Ce give the Indians the benefit of our fishing experience and con- 226 structed a weir of which we were not a little proud. 123 We set it out, firmly convinced that in the morning it would be full of fish. All we caught was wood and refuse of all sorts, and I cannot deny that the Indians ridiculed us a bit. C Ce

The reason for the poverty of these Indians with regard to 226 fishing gear is not a lack of ideas, but a different one. There are, quite simply, few fishing methods suitable for these waters. Setting out a net at night is not feasible, for if a palometa fish gets into the net it immediately cuts it in two with its knife-sharp teeth. Fishing with a hook where there are such fish is also not enticing, for they bite off the hooks as easily as the lines, if these are not made of good material. In these tropical waters the fishing gear also rots more quickly than among us and C thus should not be left in the water all night. Ce

The Chiriguano and Chané have no vessels. 484 On the other hand, they are extraordinary waders, 501 and to wade in the rivers here during the rainy period is not exactly a small matter. If, however, one has the assistance of one of these Indians, one can cross if it is possible at all.

As an oddity I might mention that during my entire journey I never saw a native white or mestizo fishing. In Bolivia it is not refined to eat fresh fish. On the Rio Pilcomayo /187/ the officers of the military post almost never ate the delicious, fresh, salmon-like fish from the river, but preferred canned salmon C Ce from Alaska. Since this is very old by the time it reaches Bolivia, it tastes dreadful. [226] Fishing with a hook is also the only method of fishing that the Indians learned from the whites. [177]

As for domestic animals, the dog is the only one that the Ce Chiriguano and Chané did not get from the whites. 231 These dogs now seem to me to have a strong mixture of foreign blood. [177] They always have names, for example, tirupotchi (old garment), [552] /Fig. 91 appears here/ chapikáyu (yellow eyebrows). As a rule,

C /187 cont./
Ce the Chiriguano and Chané have fewer horses, cows, donkeys, sheep,
231 and goats than the Choroti and Ashluslay. On the other hand, they
have more chickens and pigs. Sometimes one sees ducks, guinea fowl,
C and turkeys. In certain regions, as, for example, in the Caipipendi
Ce valley, where the Indians are wealthy, they also have much livestock.
[184] The whites, unfortunately, try in every way to cheat them out of
[556] what they have. Thus, it is not uncommon for a white man or a white
Ee woman to come into a village with a few kegs of spirits and to leave
[439] it with a couple of the best cows of the Indians. The whites are richer,
the Indians poorer.

C
227

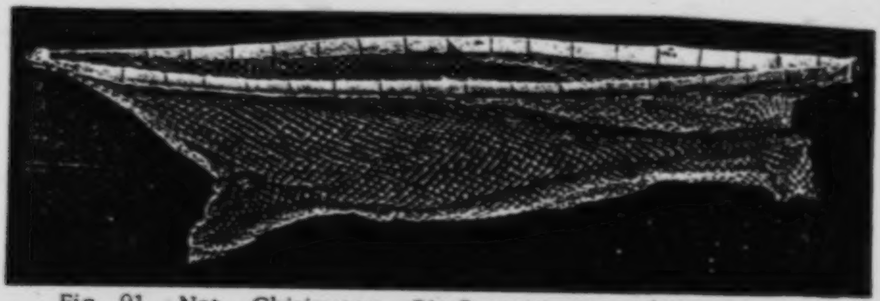


Fig. 91. Net. Chiriguano. Rio Parapiti. Ca. 1/12.

C
Ce The menagerie of tamed wild animals which one sees in the villages
231 of the more primitive Indians is not to be found among /188/ these Indians.
171 A parrot that talks a little Guarani, however, is not unusual in the huts.

Preparation of Food

C
Ce The dirt that we come across in the preparation of food and eating
252 among the Choroti and Ashluslay is not found /Fig. 92a appears here/
among the Chané and Chiriguano. On the other hand, the dishes are
Ee terribly monotonous. They consist of maize in every possible form,
262] cooked maize, roasted maize, maize bread baked in ashes, maize flour
porridge, and /189/ steamed maize flour. The latter is prepared in an
apparatus illustrated here (Fig. 92).

SF10

Chane SF8

/189 cont./ C Ce 252

Meat is cooked with maize as a soup or roasted. Before it is placed in the pot, it is washed clean. Fish are roasted over the fire in clamps /Klammern/ or in maize leaves. The small fish which I saw prepared in this way are taken out only when they are eaten. If there are many fish, they are dried for future use. C Ce [251]

Especially in times of famine, various /Fig. 92b appears here/ wild plants are also eaten. Salt, which is now bought from the whites, is used for food. In former times it was fetched from the rock-salt pits on the San Luis, on the way from the city of Tarija to the Chaco, or salt was made from saliferous earth, "yukiu." The earth mixed with salt was placed in a bowl of water, sank to the bottom, and the salt water was used. C Ce 263 317 [439]

Women and men eat separately. At home the men usually eat first and then the women and children. The Indians want to be left alone when they are eating. It is therefore extremely ill-mannered to speak to them during this important activity. C Ce 264

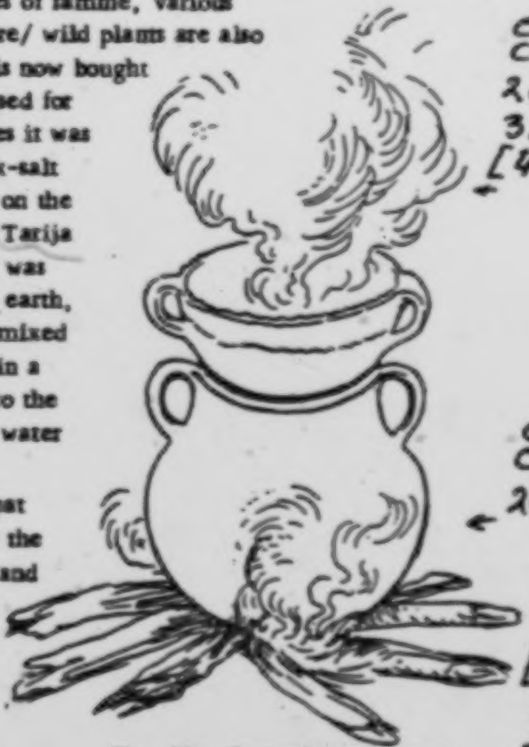


Fig. 92a. Steaming apparatus. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

Ce [576] Ce [415] [252]

/190/ As far as I saw, they do not eat out of a common dish, but each one eats out of his bowl. After meals they rinse their mouths and wash their hands by spitting the rinse water over their fingers. C Ce [415]

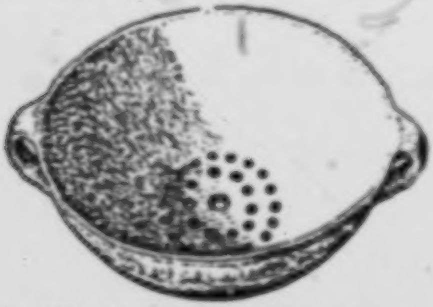
C
Ce

/190 cont./

It seemed to me that true mealtimes were observed here, the first of which was in the morning, the second in the middle of the day, and the third at sundown. 264

E
Ce

If they have an abundance of food in the house, they also invite in the neighboring households. 574 A visiting Indian is very hospitably received. He need not leave without having received maize beer or food. Ce [123] In the Chané villages on the Rio Parapiti the Indians always served me a bowl of sweet potatoes when I visited them.



Ce
415
171

Fig. 92b. Upper clay-vessel. The speciman illustrated here is from the Mataco-Vejos, who learned how to use it from the Chané. 1/4.

Ce
262

The Chané do not eat donkeys, mules, horses, dogs, foxes, vultures, or monkeys. On the other hand, puma and jaguar are regarded as edible.

Ee
461
462

Even if the women in the villages are not cooking, brewing, or tending their little ones, they are nevertheless always busy. At least one almost never sees the older ones among them without an occupation. They spin, make clay vessels, weave. I learned to appreciate these women; I admired their loving care of the children, their industry, their maintenance of the home, their skill, and their taste.

6: Nordenskiöld--43 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

/190 cont./

Games

Ea
524
[177]

Sometimes one sees the men playing. The most common game is now taba, which is played with the ankle bone of a cow and which these Indians learned in the sugar factories. Dice games, too, are not uncommon there. The rules for these seem to be their own, or rather seem to be copied from the whites.

"Dado," as the Chiriguano call the dice game after the Spanish, is played by two persons with /191/ dice made by them themselves. In Tihuîpa I noted down the following rules for this game (Fig. 93).

All other combinations are = 0. The first one to have ten strokes wins. The strokes are marked on the floor.

As for their own games of chance, they have two. The first is the same as the one we became acquainted with on page 73 /untranslated/ in connection with the Choroti and Ashluslay. The Chiriguano call this game "chûcarây," the Chané "chunquâori" (1).

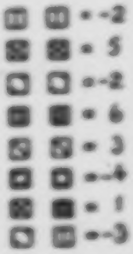


Fig. 93. Rule for the game of "dado." Chiriguano. Tihuîpa.

Ca
[113]

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1. Cf. Erland Nordenskiöld: Zeitschr. f. Ethn., 1910, Nos. 3 and 4.

The other game known to the Chiriguano and Chané I did not see among any other Indians. They call it múcareta and play it with a pile of little sticks which are convex on one side and flat or concave on the other (Fig. 95).

First a stick (máma) is placed in such a way that it points to the one who is supposed to throw (Fig. 96). Let us assume that it is placed so that the convex side is up. If two or more sticks fall on one another crosswise with the convex side up and without being touched on the upper side by a stick with the flat side up, they go to the thrower. If the máma had been placed so that the flat side was up, only those which formed a cross with the flat side up would have counted.

C
Ce
524

/191 cont./

The players take turns throwing, and each one places the *máma* to suit himself. The one who gets the most sticks wins.

If only four sticks are left, no *máma* is put down any more, but the players decide whether the convex or flat (concave) ones are to count.

/192/ Sometimes one sees the women playing ninepins, called

Ce
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516

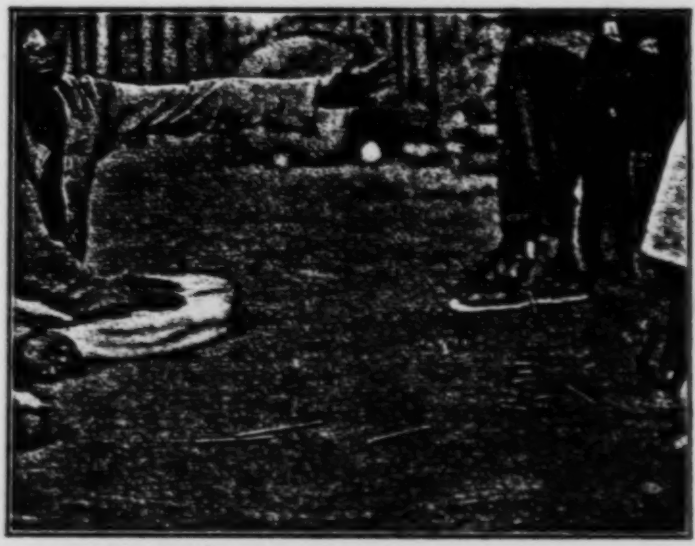

Fig. 94. Chané boys playing *chunquanti* on the Rio Itiyuro.

C
Ce
524

"itarapóa" by the Chiriguano in Tihuip̃a, *"tocoróre"* by the Chané on the Rio Parapiti.

In Tihuip̃a it was played in the following manner. Two rows of maize kernels, two with one on top of the other in each case, were set up four to five feet apart as pins. Two persons played alternately, trying to knock down the maize pins of the other with a stone ball. The first to knock down all the maize pins of the other was the winner.

SF10

Chane SF8

/192 cont./

C Ce 524

C Ce [804] [323]

On the Rio Pilcomayo three pins were used on each side. The distance between the pins of the opponent was three ells. Each pin consisted of a shelled ear of maize, and the distance between them was supposed to be a hand span (1). The balls used are made of fired clay and are hollow, with small, rattling pellets inside (Fig. 99). /Plate 17 appears here./

C Ce 524

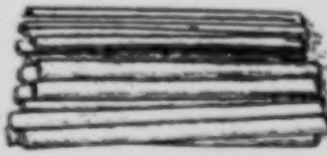

Fig. 95.
Little sticks for the tshúcareta game. 2/9.

/193/ The Life of the Indian Children

C Ce 855

If one speaks of the life in the villages, one must not forget the children. The children play, but also help the adults. They are reared like the Choroti and Ashlustlay children. They spend their lives in happy freedom, without thrashings and harsh words.

C Ce 524

The Chiriguano and Chané children have a number of games and toys which one never sees the children of the whites in Bolivia use, and all of which seem to me to be genuinely Indian.

C Ce 857 526 [171]

First of all, the Indian children play the games of the adults that I have already mentioned. Of the Choroti and Ashlustlay games, they are familiar with the hockey-like game of ball, which the Chiriguano call "táca." I did not see it played among the Chané. As goals they use pits, and sometimes they hit the

[text continues on p. 47] ball with rackets.

1. Longest distance between thumb and little finger.

137

Plate 17. Palm forest not far from the Rio Pilcomayo

880 /193 cont./

CE 857 526 balls with rackets. This is a boys' game here. An extraordinarily attractive and difficult game is "tóki," which I saw played by the boys of the Chané on the Rio Parapiti. It is played by two, four, six, or more persons in two divisions. The balls of solid rubber are first tossed into the air by one of the players and then tossed with the head to the opponents' side from where it is supposed to be hit back again with the head. Touching the ball with the hand is forbidden. The side that has missed the ball five or ten times, according to what has been agreed upon, loses.

CC 524 516

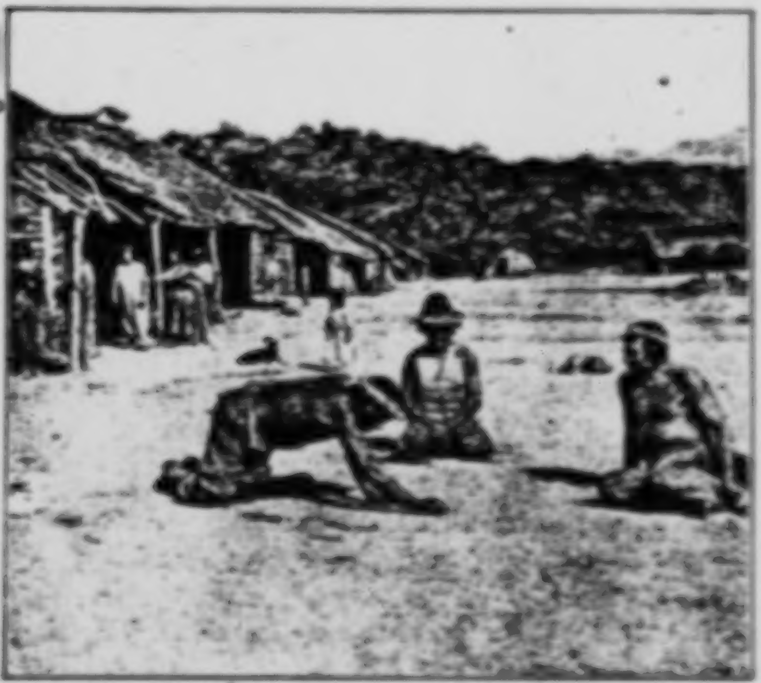

Fig. 96. Máma is set out. Tihuícareta game. Tihuipa Chiriguano

CE 857 526

CE 773 526 314 The game of tóki is mentioned in one of the legends of the Chané Indians. In this legend we see how difficult it was in former times for the Chané to obtain rubber for the balls: /194/ it had to be brought from afar because there is no rubber in the Chaco.

CE 527 857 439 773 Now they get the rubber balls from Santa Cruz de la Sierra. I saw "tóki" played only by boys. In olden times it was played not only by the men, but also by the gods. It is known particularly

880

Nordenskiöld--46 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chiquito SF9

/194 cont./ It[3] is known particularly from the Chiquito Indians (1).

CO
526

1. Erbauliche und angenehme Geschichten /Edifying and Pleasant Tales/. Vienna. 1729. Page 55.

CO
[113]

C
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516

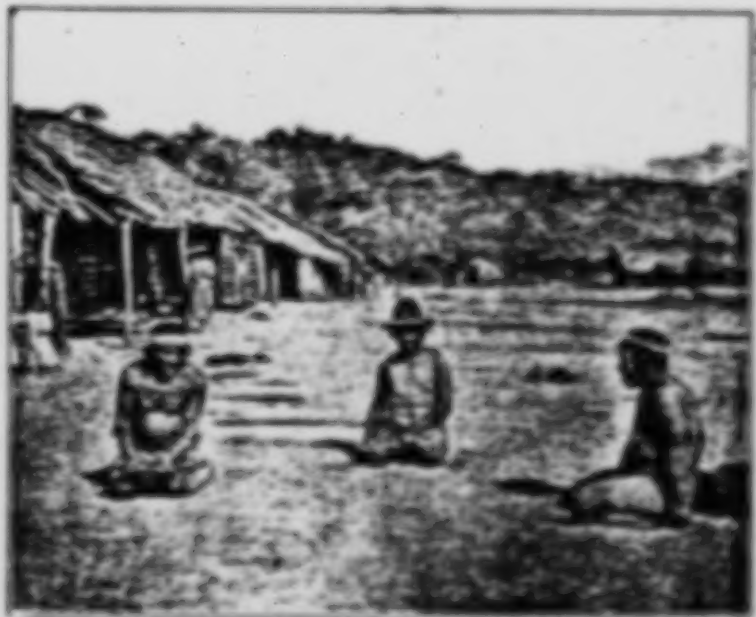

Fig. 97. The sticks are thrown. Tékácareta game.

CO
526

D'Orbigny (2) also mentions this charming game of the Chiquito.

2. D'Orbigny: Voyage. Partie historique. Vol. 2, pages 594-595.

CO
[113]

On the Rio Guaporé I saw Chiquitano-speaking /195/ rubber workers playing the game, and they were extraordinarily adept at hitting the ball with their heads. Lying on their stomachs, they even caught low balls, which almost touched the ground, in the same manner.

3[i.e., The game of [illegible] -- Analyst]

V
526 /195 cont./

Games with rubber balls seem to have become familiar to the Spaniards at a very late date. This is evident from the astonishment /Fig. 97 appears here/ with which Gumilla (1) mentions them.

V
[13] 1. Gumilla: El Orinoco Ilustrado, Madrid, 1745. Page 190.

C
524
516

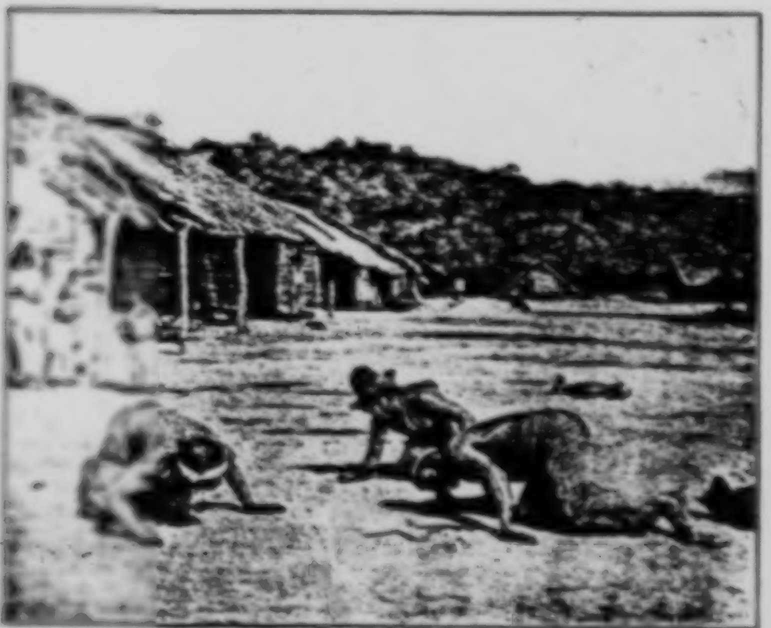

Fig. 98. The players look to see how the sticks have fallen.

V
526
[314] He says that the balls and the manner of playing with them are remarkable. The ball is large and made from a wood sap called caucho; with a light blow it flies as high as a man is tall.

Gumilla says that the Indians on the Orinoco /196/ played with the right shoulder. If the ball hit another part of the body, the player lost a point. He admired their playing, for they threw the ball ten, twelve times and more, without its touching the ground.

/196 cont. /

Another nice game is "sóuki," which the Chané boys on the Rio Parapiti played (Fig. 102). It is played by two /Fig. 99 appears here/ boys with maize-cob arrows. First one boy throws his arrow to the ground, then the other, who tries to come as close as possible to him. If he comes a hand span or closer to the arrow of the opponent, he wins a point, that is to say, he gets a stroke. The one who has six points first, if the other has none, wins. Each one plays with up to three arrows. The points are counted in such a way that only what one has over the other one is of value. Ce 524

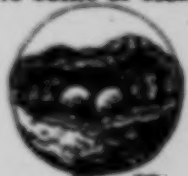

Fig. 99.
Split ball for the tocorore game. 1/2. Chané, Rio Parapiti.

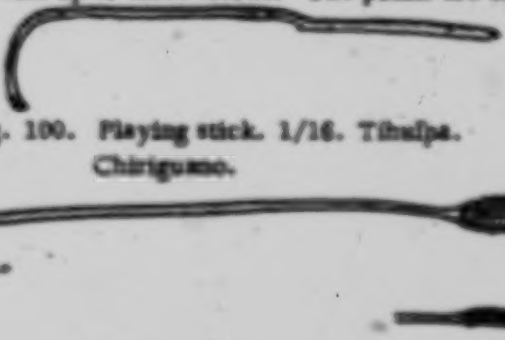

Fig. 100. Playing stick. 1/16. Tihuipa. Chiriguano. C 526

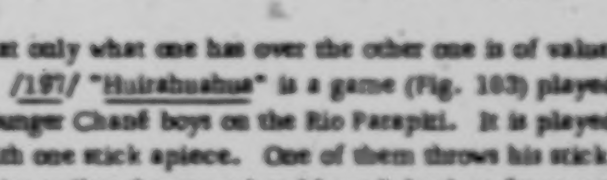

Fig. 101. Racket. 1/16. Tihuipa. Chiriguano.

Ce 524

/197/ "Huirahuahua" is a game (Fig. 103) played only by the younger Chané boys on the Rio Parapiti. It is played by two boys with one stick apiece. One of them throws his stick so that the point strikes the ground and bounds back as far as possible. Then the second one throws. The one who has thrown farther gets a stroke on the ground. The one who first gets eight strokes while the other stands at zero wins.

C 524 /197 cont./

I saw the "parama" game played by the Chiriguano in the Caipipendi valley. It is played by two. A button or the like is placed on a stone as a goal, whereupon they throw small round stones made of clay shirds. The button is supposed to be struck down, and the one /Figs. 100 and 101 appear here/ who comes closest to it wins a stroke. The game goes on until one of them has five or more strokes, according to agreement.

C Ce 524 The Chané and Chiriguano children also have a number of toys which are illustrated here (Figs. 104-105). One of these, "moumou" (Fig. 104), is strange. With it /198/ a buzzing tone is produced if the threads are first twisted and then stretched.

Ce 524

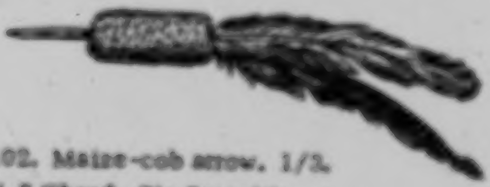

Fig. 102. Maize-cob arrow. 1/3. "Souki." Chané. Rio Parapiti.

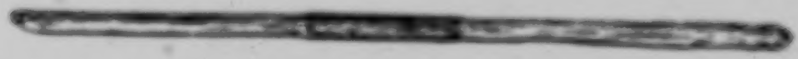

Fig. 103. Little stick for the huirahuahua game. 1/3. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

Now I have no doubt properly bored my readers with Indian games and toys. Perhaps I have dwelt too long on this subject, so little studied in South America, which interested me keenly on my journey. Ee [123] As among the Choroti and Ashluslay, I liked playing with the boys. This is also a way of coming closer to the Indians, of winning their confidence.

Ee 85 [797] [177] Like the Choroti and Ashluslay children, the children of the Chané and Chiriguano are seldom bored; like the former, they are well-behaved and good children. It is usually very lively on the playgrounds in the villages. This is true of the heathen. The children who have fallen into the hands of the monks look melancholy and reserved; they have already been given a taste of what the children of the white man learn, training and the beginning of civilization. "You shall..." "You shall not..."

6: Nordenskiöld--82 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
S-Am. Indians S3
Chaco Indians SK4

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526
171

/198 cont./

The games and toys are of great interest from the anthropo-geographical point of view. We do not find the majority of them outside the Chaco and the adjacent regions of South America. On the other hand, we find them in North America. Consequently I have /199/ /Ill. 104 appears here/ /200/ come to the conclusion (1)

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1. See also Erland Nordenskiöld: *Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie*, 1910. Nos. 3 and 4.

that the games and toys are vestiges from a time when the cultural exchange between North and South America was greater than now, or, more correctly, that traces of a cultural stream coming from the north extended down as far as Argentina. A peculiar similarity also exists between the types of tobacco pipes that one finds in southern South America and in /Fig. 105 appears here/ North America. The striped pottery which I found in my excavations in eastern Bolivia, in Mojos, also points to influences from the north.

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Everyday Clothing

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In the villages in which the influence of the whites has not driven out the old attire, the Chané and Chiriguano women wear a sack-shaped garment, "*tiru*" (Fig. 106). This, as the photographs show, may be worn in various ways. In former times the *tiru* does not seem to have had its present shape. Viedma (2) says

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2. Viedma, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

the /201/ Chiriguano women merely had a piece of fabric around their hips. Undoubtedly, under the influence of the "moral" Christians, the costume developed so that it became "more decent." /Fig. 106 appears here./

6: Nordenskiöld--53 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SP10 Chiriguano SP10

Chane SP8

[illegible]

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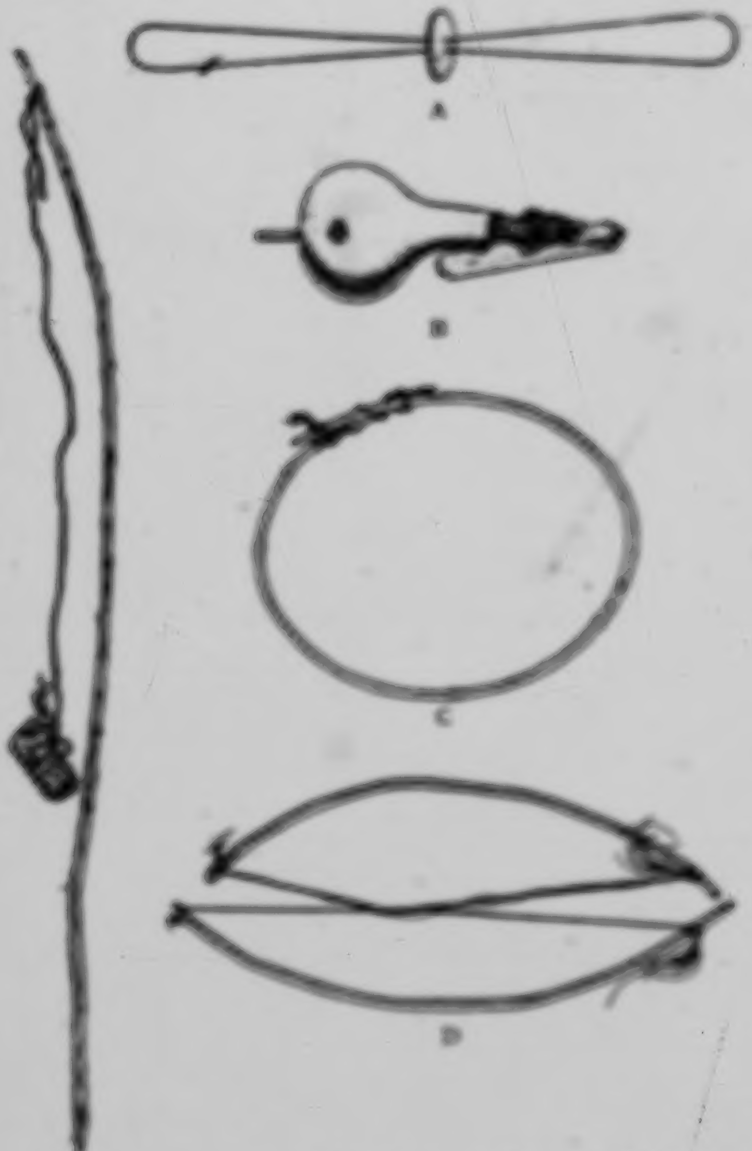

Fig. 104. Toys. Chané and Chiriguano.

A a "[illegible]," 1/5. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

B * buzzing top. 1/3. Chiriguano. Caipipendi.

C, C1 a hoop with whip. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

D a musical bow. 1/6. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

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/321 cont./

As for native ornaments, one sees necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla beads and of black seeds.

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E0
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According to their own statements, the Indians find the stone beads in the ground where there are old dwellings and graves. The mestizos in the Tarija valley, who find a great many of these beads in their fields, sell them to the Chiriguano /321/ and Chané at high prices. In former times a necklace of these beads was paid for with a horse.

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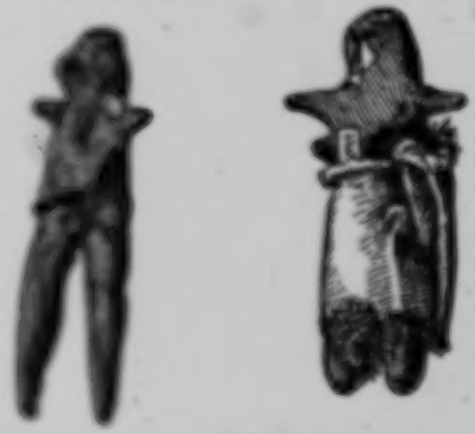

Fig. [illegible]. Wax dolls. 1/1. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

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The Chané and Chiriguano women wear the hair medium long, parted in the middle of the forehead, and sometimes tied at the nape of the neck or on the head with a band.

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The men now all wear European attire. At /Fig. 107 appears here/ work, however, one not infrequently sees them in only a piece of fabric protecting the sexual parts. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti, combs resembling those with which we became familiar among the Choroti and Ashluslay were very common. The older men, as well as the younger ones in the Chiriguano villages on the upper Rio Pilcomayo, wear the hair long, wound around the head, and held together, as a rule, with a red or blue band. Toward the front the hair is cut off; thus they have forelocks /322/ and a lock in front of each ear. The

6: Nordenskiöld--55 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

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custom of cutting the hair short, however, is becoming more prevalent, in order to be just as elegant as the whites. When they travel over stony or thorny ground, they wear sandals on their feet, like the women.

These Indians do not often paint themselves ordinarily. Sometimes one sees a woman who has painted her face red. The whites maintain that it means she is anxious to get married, or, if married, lascivious. I do not venture to say, however, that this is true. /Fig. 108 appears here./ The women also commonly paint a red line here or there on the face, or they simply paint a flower on each cheek. The men, too, sometimes paint the face and body red. As a great rarity I saw a couple of Chiriguano women who were tattooed on the arms (Fig. 108). In the Caipipendi valley the Chiriguano women have disgusting habit of blackening their otherwise white and sound teeth. Viedma says that the Chiriguano men were in the habit of painting their teeth blue.

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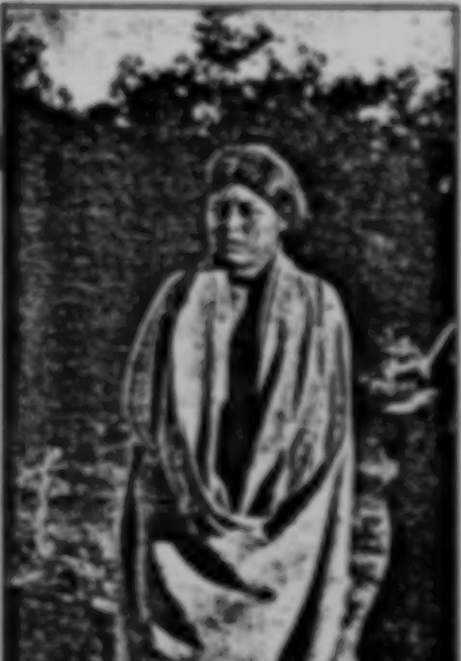

Fig. 106. Chané woman from the Rio Parapiti, clothed in "tiru."

/203 cont./

Cleanliness

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515 The Chané and Chiriguano are very clean. As has been said, they start the day with a bath and then often bathe several times in the course of the day. This cleanliness is strange among tribes who often live in regions such as, for example, the Caipipendi valley, where a great shortage of water prevails. During the dry season they can never take a bath there, but the

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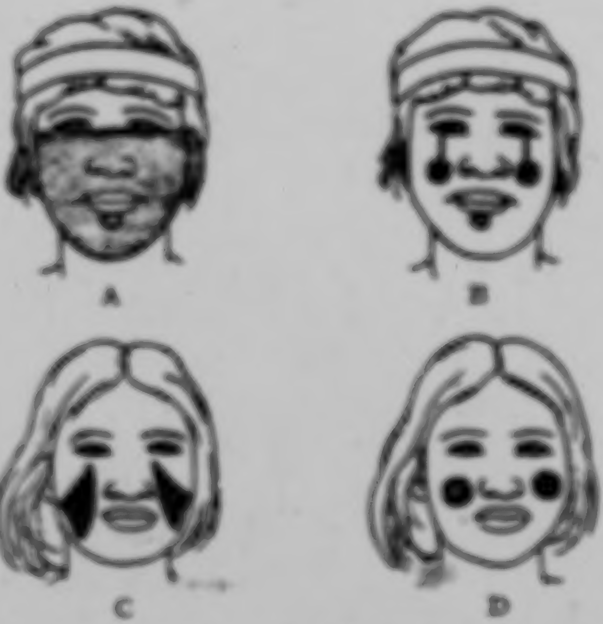

Fig. 107. Facial painting. Chiriguano.
Itapembia. Red color.
A and B = men. C and D = women.

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515 women at least wash their bodies thoroughly every morning.

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515 /204/ The contrast which is evident here in the zeal for cleanliness on the part of the various tribes may be explained, in my opinion, by their migrations. The Choroti, Ashluslay,

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/304 cont./

and Mataco, who still in part dress in fur cloaks, seem to me, like the Fuegians and Patagonians, to have immigrated to the Chaco from the cold pampas in the south where washing was extremely unpleasant, whereas the Chiriguano and Chané come from the north, out of the warm, humid, virgin forests, from the great rivers, where bathing was always pleasant and refreshing. Now, where /Fig. 108 appears here/ they live under the same climatic conditions, the former have preserved their dirt, the latter their cleanliness.

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Im Thurn (1) reports that the Indians in Guiana bathe

1. Im Thurn: Among the Indians of Guiana. London, 1883.

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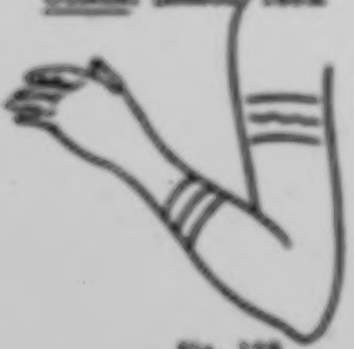

Fig. 108.
Woman's tattooed arm. Chiriguano.
Ibopeite.

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immediately after eating, without any harm to them. I often observed the same thing here.

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The Chiriguano and various Chané shampoo the head with the seeds of "syambu," which they grind. For the same purpose the Chané on the Rio Parapiti use the bark of the mistol /Zizyphus mistol Griseb./, "yiag." The nails, and /301/ not least the toenails, are also very carefully treated. For combing they use combs carved in wood or made out of sticks of cane tied together.

6. Nordenskiöld--58 E-1 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ea /35 cont./

514 The Chané and Chiriguano never relieve themselves close to the huts. I never saw special privies, however, for any Ea [171] Indians, and not for many whites in Bolivia either.

Ea 296 The Chané and Chiriguano are very careful with their clothing. They keep it clean and mend it if necessary. The members of each sex wash and mend their own things. The men here sew quite as well as the women.

Ea 128 I have spoken here of the everyday life of these Indians. Now I shall describe the most important events in their lives, in their social life, their festivals, their industry, etc., and

Ce 412 531

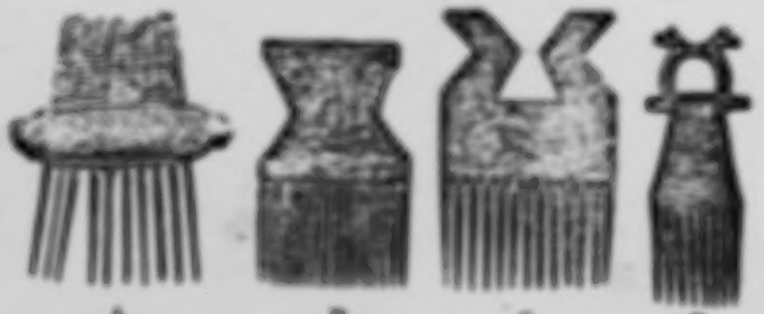

Fig. 109, Combs for combing the hair, not for fastening in it.

A, from the Chané; B, C, D, from the Chiriguano.

Ee 128 finally proceed to their legends and their religion.

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Chane SF8

/206/

Chapter Twelve

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

From the Womb to the Grave

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The Chané and Chiriguano women work hard even during pregnancy, until they are to give birth. In Vocapoy's village there was a pregnant woman to whom I gave a pigeon that I shot. Vocapoy thereupon told me in great excitement that a pregnant woman must not eat pigeons. When a Chané or Chiriguano child comes into the world, it undoubtedly does not cause its mother much pain. These women are healthy and give birth easily, as do all Indian women who lead a healthy life and have never worn tight-fitting clothing. They also do not lie in childbed; instead, that must be done by the papa of the little one. Here, too, we came across this strange custom, the "couvade," which is known from so many Indian tribes. The husband is supposed to lie down for several days and observe a diet. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti he is permitted to eat only cooked maize and maize soup during the first few days, and later sweet potatoes as well. For several days he may not eat meat. For example, if he eats the meat of a goat, he will die, bleating as it does. The Chiriguano Indian Taco told me that he got his fat stomach because he did not observe this important custom. "I should have lain for five days and stayed on a diet," he said.

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The custom of the couvade, as is well known, is very widespread in South America. Among the tribes with whom I am familiar it definitely occurs, aside from the /207/ Chiriguano and Chané, among the Choroti, Gûarayô, and Chacobo. K. v. d. Steinen (1), who describes this custom in detail from the Rio Xingu,

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1. Karl v. d. Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentralbrasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/. Berlin, 1894.

SF10
Chane SF8
GUARAYU SF11

/207 cont./

says it is probably known to all Brazilian tribes. On the other hand, the custom of the couvade seems to be unknown to the Quichua /Quechua/ and Aymara, that is to say, to the mountain culture in Bolivia and Peru. This is one of the many contrasts between the Indians of the mountains and of the virgin forest. C Ce 846 171

The Gũarayũ Indians of northeastern Bolivia told me that if a man goes hunting immediately after his wife's confinement and, for example, shoots a parrot, he might kill his child. That is, during the first days of life the soul of the child follows the father. G 846 224 774

Illegitimate children are very rarely born among the Chané and Chiriguano. I believe, perhaps I am mistaken, that the women of these Indians are chaste before they marry. On the Rio Itiyuro, among about 500 Chané, there was only one child born to an unmarried woman. Deformed children are very rarely born. Thus, from what I saw and what Batirayu said, in the entire Parapiti Valley, among 1500-2,000 Chané, there is no one who was born blind, none cross-eyed, no idiot, and only one with deformed extremities, and four deaf mutes. I did not observe any Indians with a serious stutter. C Ce 848 Ce 848 162 C Ce 732 [762]

I do not know whether among these Indians, too, deformed children are immediately killed, but this is probably the case. Nor do I know whether abortion occurs. It is certain, however, that these healthy women seldom bear children who are not well formed. Nevertheless, in the Parapiti valley, as was said, there was a boy with deformed extremities. One hip bone was too short and one arm was also crippled. This boy was treated by all with extraordinary kindness, /208/ and loud approval was expressed when I gave him a few small presents. C Ce [847] Ce [723]

When the child begins to walk, it is given a name. This is not given by the father or mother, but by its grandparents. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti I wrote down a few names. If it is a boy, he is called, for example, yatéurembi (lip of the tick), huásucaca (guanaco), tátunambi (armadillo ear), yánducũpe (ostrich back), vacainyáca (cow head), aguárachivi (fox urine), derésa paravéte (your poor eyes); if it is a girl, for example, árasaypoti (guava blossom) (1). A great many of the names are C Ce 553 603 Ce 551

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1. Psidium guayava.

Ce /208 cont./
551 untranslatable. Not infrequently a nickname is added to this name.
Thus, for example, the Chané chief Boyra (Boy-snake) was called
yúruhuasu, which means big-mouth. Indeed, old Boyra was a
talker who had a great weakness for everything that was a bit in-
Ee decent.

862 Mothers nurse for an unusually long time, and it is several
163 years, as a rule, before they have another child. Perhaps the
Ec woman also aborts the fruit of her womb occasionally, like the
847 Choroti woman, so that the family will not become too burdened.

E In the mission station in Ivu I tried to gather statistics
163 about the number of surviving children in 127 Chiriguano
marriages and found that in ten marriages there were no children,
in 27 one, in 35 two, in 29 three, in 13 four, in 9 five, and
in 4 six. These figures, however, are quite uncertain. Neverthe-
less they show that here, as among many other Indian tribes, there
C is a sort of two-children system.

847 Corrado (2) maintains with certainty that infanticide occurs
114
C
[113]

> 2. Corrado: El Colegio Franciscano De Traija y sus misiones. Quaracci, 1884. Pages 526-527.

among the Chiriguano. It is done in desperate cases among us,
C too, and therefore the example cited by Corrado means nothing.
847 The question is: does /209/ infanticide and abortion occur as an
institution accepted by the tribe, as among the Choroti? /Fig.
C 110 appears here./
Ce

868 The Chané and Chiriguano children, as has been mentioned,
857 are brought up in freedom. They spend their childhood playing.
Gradually the child begins to help its parents in small matters, for example, in carrying water and wood, tying up /210/ the domestic animals, fishing, etc. The girls learn spinning, weaving, making clay vessels, brewing maize beer, etc. from their mothers. They learn everything by imitation. The boys pursue small birds around the village and in this way learn the use of weapons. The children accompany their parents to fish and to till. The boy

SF10
Chane SF8

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Ce /210 cont./

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857 accompanies his father on the hunt and feels extraordinarily proud and clever if he is allowed to go home with the "common" hunting booty. The children see and learn. It is fun for them to help father and mother.

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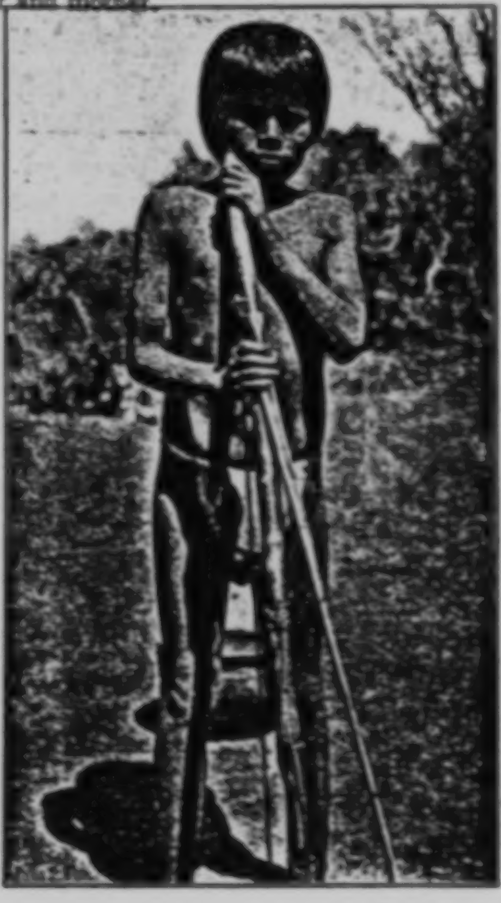

Fig. 110. Chané boy. Rio Parapiti.
He has arrows with blunt tips in his hand.

Ea
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[797] How different is the child-rearing in the missions, which is based on spying and tattling.

Ee
[736] Motherless children are taken in by relatives. Here, too, one not infrequently sees older aunts caressing the children of others.

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/210 cont./

When a girl has her first menstruation, she is put in a compartment in the hut, a sort of closet. Her hair is cut short, and she may not come out until it has grown medium long again. Accompanied by her mother she may go out and attend to her needs, for example, bathe, etc. Between the first and second menstruation she must stay on a diet. She may eat cooked maize and meal. The Chané call this custom "yimundia."

In a Chané village, Aguaráti, I saw a girl who was sitting in such a closet. She was spinning. I peered into the closet, which was probably wrong of me, for on the next day girl and closet had disappeared.

P. Chomé (1) already mentions this custom in connection with the Chiriguano. He says the Indians believe a snake has bitten the girl.

When the girl emerges from this imprisonment, she is marriageable.

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[191]

/211/ When the Chané boy is about 10-12 years old, his lower lip is pierced by a man particularly experienced in this. A small piece of wood is stuck in the hole. The boy must lie down for a day. His grandfather comes and tears deep wounds in his body, so that he will become brave in battle and a capable hunter. In the morning, when it is still quite cold, he takes him to bathe, so that he will become a proper man.

For one day the father may not consume anything, so that the boy will not become loquacious. This shows that the Indians do not like prattlers.

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Ce
[78]

When the boy grows older, he receives in place of the small piece of wood a larger one, and when he becomes a man he may parade around with a large plug, "tembeta," in his lower lip (Fig. 79). This is supposed to be of wood in which pieces of turquoise and chrysocolla are set. Among the Chané and most of the Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta.

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1. P. Chomé, p. 320. The same priest also speaks of the custom of the couvade among these Indians, p. 321. Lettres édifiantes /Edifying Letters/. Vol. XXIV.

C /211 cont./
301 Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta. The
178 Chiriguano chief Maringay, who still respects old customs, has
304] the lower lip of all boys pierced. Maringay is one of the old
c ones who say contemptuously: The "ava," the man, who does
[578] not wear a tembeta looks like a "cuña" (woman). To call men
c the insulting word "woman" is to insult them in Chiriguano
[186] fashion. The ones who are "ava" say of the Chané, who have
Ee small tembetas, "cuñareta" (women).

301 Nowadays most of the tembetas are made out of tin and
177 pieces of glass by the whites in mountainous regions. Among
Ee those who have made them is the Italian Pablo Piotti. His work
301 has even managed to get into European museums, without ever
314 having lodged in an Indian chin. In former times the Chiriguano
also had tembetas made of transparent resin (1).

c
[113] 1. P. Chomé: Lettres édifiantes. Vol. XXIV, p. 317.

Ee
583 If the Chané or Chiriguano boy wishes to marry, he sends
584 the parents of the girl all kinds of hunting booty. Vocapoy /212/
told me that he places wood in front of their houses. If the wood
is used, it means consent, if he finds the wood untouched, he is
rejected. If he has been successful with the wood, he asks the
mother of the girl for her. She then answers that she cannot know
whether he will be a good husband who can provide food for his
wife. In order to demonstrate this, he must serve his future
Ee mother-in-law for about a year. Thus, marriage is a sort of purchase.
584 The Chané and Chiriguano men go courting nowadays in
178 the same way that they did 200 years ago (1).

1. P. Chomé, op. cit., 319.

Ee
585 The night before the wedding, the young man sleeps with
his girl. The wedding is celebrated with a drinking bout, with
Ee no other ceremonies than much drinking of maize beer. The
591 newlyweds receive good wishes. As a rule, the young people
go on living for a while in the house of the mother-in-law.

E Ce 581

/212 cont./

Marriages seem to me to be happy as a rule. In the village of the Chané chief Vocapoy, I had an opportunity to see several newly married couples. The happiness of the honeymoon month seemed to me unfeigned, and the young wives worked industriously for their husbands. Nevertheless, among the Indians, as among other peoples, there are women of different character. There were some who worked all day long for their homes, and others who seemed to live only to amuse themselves.

C Ce 582

Sibling marriages are forbidden, whereas male and female cousins may marry (at least among the Chané).

C Ce [171]

This, on the other hand, as has been mentioned, is not permitted among either the Choroti or the Mataco.

C Ce 595

Among the Chané and Chiriguano there are some who have several wives. This is true, however, not for the young men, but for the older ones, especially the chiefs. Vocapoy had four wives, who lived in different villages. /213/ Taco is said to have seven, Maringay has two, who live together. Old Mandepora (Fig. 111) is also said to have a larger /Fig. 111 appears here/ number. These older exalted gentlemen often abandon their wives and acquire new, young, and pretty ones.

C [643] Ce [586]

E Ce 582

Except for these cases, the difference in age between the spouses does not, as a rule, seem to be more than a few years.

C 577 177 797 831

/214/ If one talks to the missionaries about the moral conditions among the Indians, especially among the Chiriguano, they paint them in black colors. The moral conduct of the Christian Indians is, I am afraid, very bad, but in the valleys where the white man has not corrupted the Indians I never saw an instance of promiscuous love, as among the Choroti. Maringay's village is typical of the old customs, and nowhere have I seen as strict morality as prevailed there. In these purely heathen villages no girl was ever offered to the members of the expedition, whereas this did happen at the mission stations.

C [837]

C 577 831 175

The following opinion is given by the Jesuit priest Ignace Chomé in a letter of 1735 (1), at a time when they were still

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1. Chomé, op. cit., p. 318.

/214 cont./

577 entirely untouched by the civilization of the whites, an opinion
831 which I shall reproduce here verbatim:
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"Ce qui m'a fort surpris, c'est que dans la licence où ils vivent, je n'ai jamais remarqué qu'il échappat à aucun homme la moindre action indécente à l'egard des femmes, et jamais je n'ai oui sortir de leur bouche aucune parole tant soit peu déshonnête

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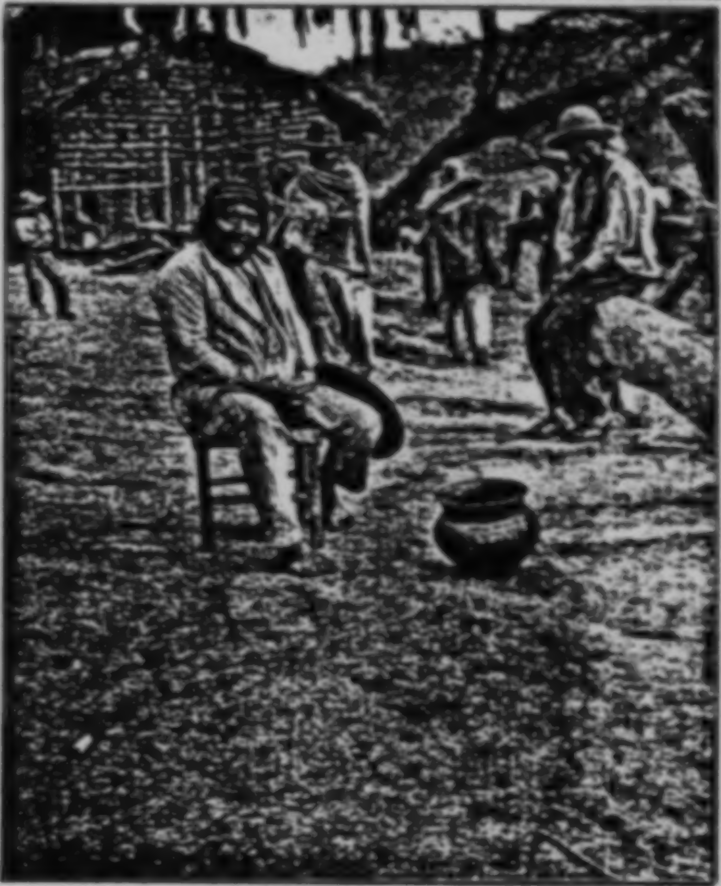

Fig. 111. The Chiriguano chief Mandepora.

577 /What surprised me very much is that in the freedom in which
831 they live I never noticed the slightest indecent behavior on the
175 part of any man with regard to women, and never did I hear from
their lips any word that was the least bit immodest/."

/214 cont./

581 This Jesuit priest describes the marriages of the Chiriguano, however, as very loose.

581 273 With marriage, life begins in earnest for these Indians. It consists of work and drinking maize beer. I have already described their work somewhat; I shall discuss their drinking bouts below.

165 The life of the Indian men and women passes more quickly

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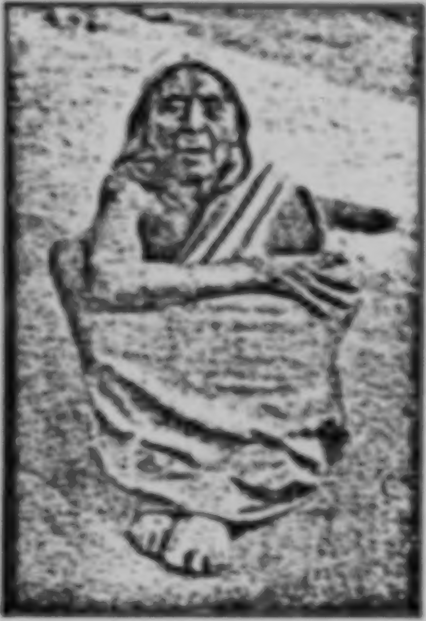

Fig. 112. Old woman. Rio Itiyuro.
Her grandsons were about 18 years old and younger.

165 than that of whites. The age of the Indian is very difficult to determine when one has no definite figures to go by. Maringay told me that he was the oldest of his tribe, that none of his contemporaries was living any more. The whites said that Maringay was over 100 years old. This is exaggerated, however. As a newly married /215/ youth 16-20 years old, Maringay visited

C
165 /215 cont./
President Belzu in Sucre. The latter governed between 1848-1855; thus, 100-year-old Maringay is obviously not more than about 80. An 80-year-old Indian is therefore the oldest of his tribe.
C
145 Among the Indians one almost always sees /Fig. 112 appears here/ that the one who has grown-up grandchildren is very frail and senile and stands at the brink of the grave. Indian men and women
C
[114] mature very rapidly, but also age quickly. At 50 the Indian is an old man, at 70 a so-called centenarian. Im Thurn (1) likewise

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 190.

believes that the Indians do not grow old. /216/ He thinks that
C
142 they seldom reach an age older than 40 or 50.

Maringay's hair was slightly gray. There are some Indian men and women whose hair is almost whitish yellow, but they are
C
[165]
[124] rare (Fig. 112). I never saw a bald Indian. When they are older, their faces are deeply furrowed. Not infrequently they become blind in old age, less often deaf.

Cc
142
515 Among the Choroti and Ashluslay the appearance of old people is often frightening; they are dirty, emaciated, and bleary-eyed. This is not the case among the Chané and Chiriguano. These Indians know how to grow old in beauty, and even the old people keep themselves nice and clean.

Cc
756 If the Chané or Chiriguano Indian becomes seriously ill, the medicine man is sent for, as among other Indians.

Cc
[758] The Chiriguano and Chané distinguish between two kinds of medicine men, whom they call "ipâye" or "ipâyepôtchi." The former are good and lift the spell; the latter are able to lift the spell and to bewitch.

C
756
797 I once jokingly asked a Chiriguano whether Father Bernardino in Ivu was an "ipâye" or an "ipâyepôtchi." The Indian answered dutifully, an "ipâye." The position of the missionary among the Indians is that of medicine man; he assumes their power and their influence.

Cc
756
177 In the preceding I said that the whites in the vicinity of Ivu sent for an Indian medicine man to drive away smallpox.

Chane SF8

Ee /216 cont./

754 They also sometimes believe that they are bewitched by the
177 Indians. A colonist, Gutierrez, flogged an Indian. The latter bewitched him, so that he became ill. Inside his stomach it sounded like the croaking of a frog.

Ee The medicine men try to discover the bewitcher with smoke.
755 I did not see how this was done. The bewitcher, if he or she is
754 discovered, is killed.

000 /217/ In the following I shall speak about the connection of the medicine men with the great spirits.

Ee There seems to be no difference in the appearance and
755 the method of the medicine men among the Choroti and
756 Ashluslay and among the Chané and Chiriguano. It is the same sucking out of foreign objects that have entered the body through
PU bewitchment. Among the latter the medicine men are more
Ee [177] secretive than among the former. Perhaps their contact with the whites has had the effect that they themselves are beginning to doubt their art.

Ee There is a difference, however, in the common remedies.
757 The first-named Indian tribes obtain their remedies, as a rule,
[171] from the vegetable kingdom. They boil decoctions of certain
Ee plants. The Chané and Chiriguano, on the other hand, except
[237] for certain plants, use animal remedies. Thus, on the Rio
Ce Itiyuro, the Chané use the fat of herons for swellings, wild pig
757 fat for fever, jaguar fat for pains in the bones, and toucan beaks
237 for female hemorrhages. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti use the fat of the ostrich for chest pains, of the iguana lizard for conjunctivitis, of the chicken for everything, and maize beer for colds. I saw fat applied exclusively for external use.

Ce
752 The Chané Indian is remarkable with regard to aseptic treatment. I saw several times how they treat wounds in accordance with a most modern method, namely, with boiled water. This is different from the whites' use of pig excrement and the fresh urine of human beings, along with salt, for the same purpose. The reason that these Indians are familiar with such a modern
Ce [515] method is undoubtedly their great cleanliness. They are used to washing themselves constantly. They probably hit upon the idea

Ca 952

/217 cont./

of boiling the water because they wanted to kill the macroscopic animals in it. The Chané sometimes use fresh leaves to bandage wounds.

Ea 764
Ea [763]

If, in spite of the medicine man's efforts, the /218/ spell cannot be lifted and the Chané or Chiriguano Indian dies, he or she is buried under the hut in a large clay vessel. Before the dying one is quite dead, or immediately after death, he is flexed so that the knees come under the chin and the arms are laid crosswise over the chest. On the Rio Parapiti there lived for many years a Chané Indian who had been flexed in this way, but who, before he was stuffed into the grave urn, was saved by a white man. The deceased, dressed, with a water calabash at his knee, is set into the vessel. The water is supposed to be taken along by the deceased when he wanders about on the mountains, the Chané chief Vocapoy told me. The vessel is buried in the hut, and another vessel is put upside down over it as a lid.

Ea [775]

Ea 768

At Tatarenda, near Yacuiba, I heard that the hut is burned down after the burial. This, however, is not the usual thing. On the contrary, the hut is abandoned for a time after the burial and then moved into again later on. This is what happened, for example, in a Chané village on the Rio Itiyuro, where I was shortly after a burial.

Ca 764
Ca [415]

The large maize-beer vessels (Fig. 113) are used as coffins. If there is a shortage of vessels, burial often takes place in another way. In a Chané village, Copéri, on the Rio Parapiti, a child was buried in a skin under the hut shortly before my arrival.

These Indians spend their lives on the graves of their dead relatives, and often the hut is so full that a later burial in old pots becomes necessary.

"The Christian carries his dead far from his house. We Indians, who feel a great love for them, keep them in our houses." That is approximately what Vocapoy once said to me when the conversation turned to this strange method of burial.

/218 cont./

766 754 825 If a Chiriguano is killed by a jaguar, he is /219/ buried with his head downward, so that he will not go about as such an animal. This notion of a jaguar who was a human being is widespread, especially among the Quichua /Quechua/, where this

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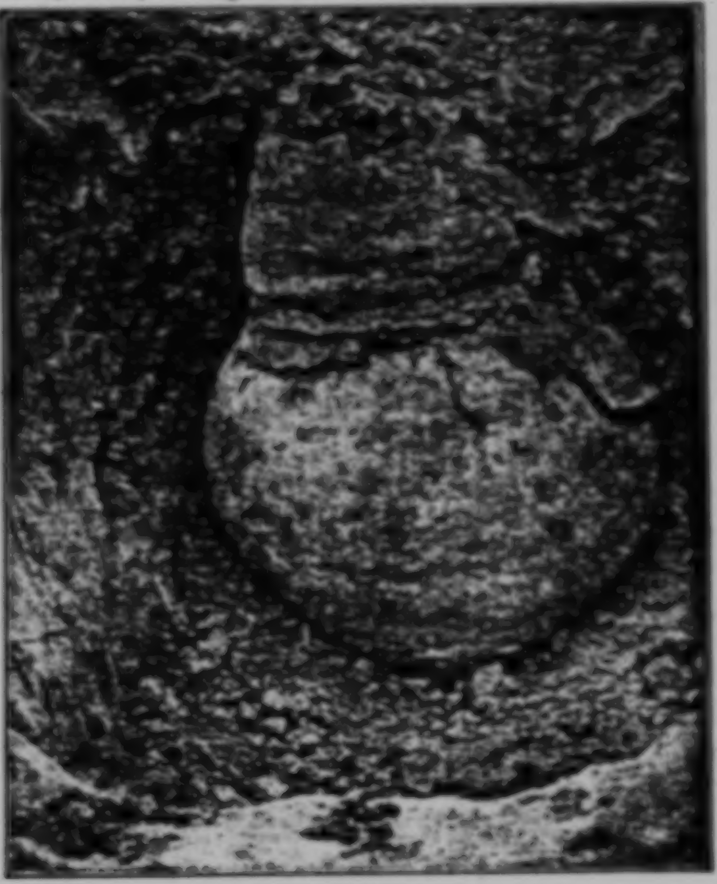

Fig. 113. Chiriguano grave.
Caipipendi.

766 754 825 strange animal, as has been mentioned, is called uturunco (cf. p. 12 /untranslated/). If a fox howls at night near the village, 763 825 someone will die.

Ec
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[587]

/219 cont./

If her husband dies, the wife is supposed to cut her hair short. /220/ If she loved him very much, she does it twice. It is not until her hair has grown long again that she may enter into another marriage. If her father or mother dies, she cuts her hair short; if her child, her brother, or brother-in-law dies, she cuts it moderately short. Long hair means that it reaches to the shoulders. My question as to whether the men also cut their hair in mourning was answered with laughter. They content themselves with shortening only the longest. The men may not marry until about a year after the death of the wife.

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If the woman is in mourning, she wears no ornaments. When I was with Maringay, his daughter-in-law had lost her little child. Though all the other women in the village wore many necklaces, she did not have a single ornament. She also did not take part in any festivity.

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The Indians whom the missionaries baptize do not always like having to bury their dead in a cemetery. They at least want the dead to have water with them in the grave.

One does not free oneself so easily from the old, inherited ideas, in order to exchange them for new ones. /Pl. 18 appears here./

/221/

Chapter Thirteen

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On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Ugly Words, Homosexuality, Suicide, Sense of Modesty, etc.

In the language of the whites there are, as is well known, a number of words that may not be used in polite society. Persons of the same sex may mention certain parts of the body only by their Latin names, whereas persons of different sex, as a rule, do not speak of them at all to one another. One word may be regarded as ugly, whereas another word for the same thing may be used at will. The reason why a word is forbidden is undoubtedly often difficult to determine.

Chane SF8

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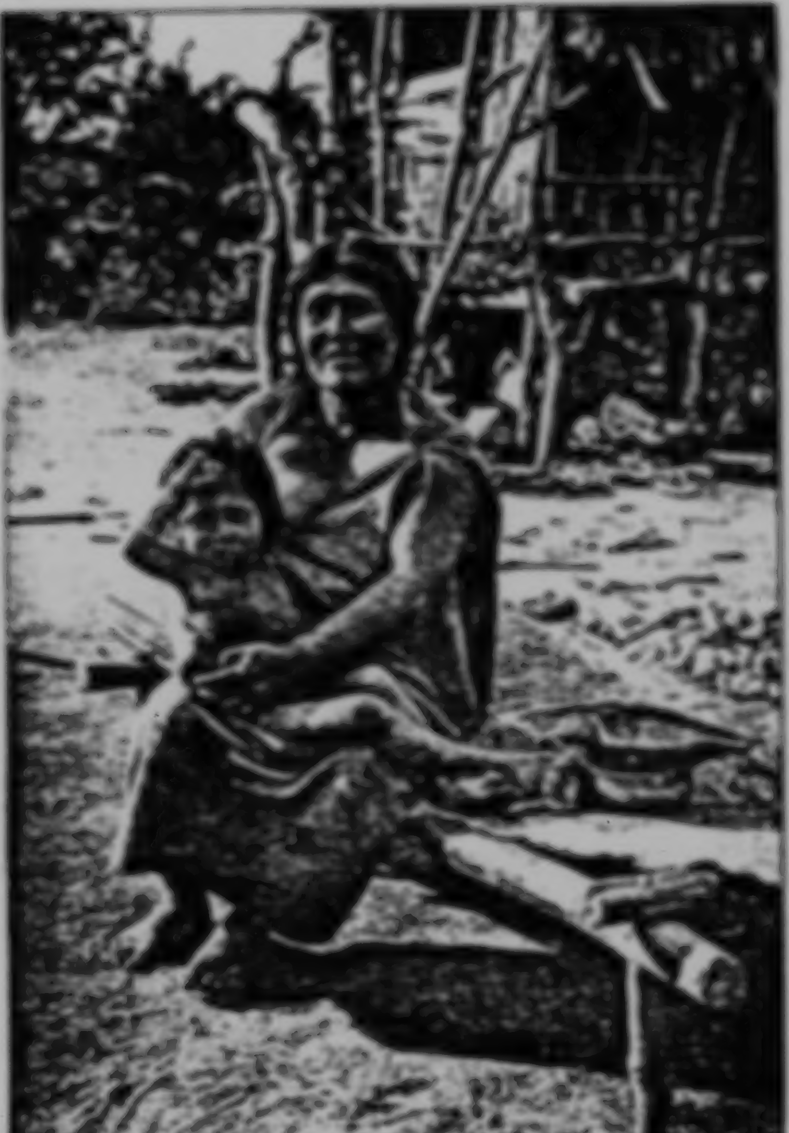

Plate 18. Chané woman with child. Rio Itiyuro.

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[illegible]
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/III cont./

K. v. d. Steinen (1) and Koch-Grünberg (2) have pointed

1. K. v. d. Steinen op. cit., p. 25.

Ea
[839]

2. Koch-Grünberg op. cit., Vol. 1,
p. 120 /Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern
(Two Years among the Indians), Berlin,
1909/.

Ea
[828]

out that even the women among the Indians on the Xingu and the Yapura speak of sexual parts quite openly, as of something natural. The same is true among the Indians with whom I became acquainted. When I inquired about words touching on the most intimate things, even the women, indeed, the young girls, answered in the most natural manner.

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There are words, however, which are prohibited. Such words among the Chorotí are "[illegible]," which is an abusive word, "[illegible]," which designates homosexual intercourse, "[illegible]," which means onanism, and "[illegible]" among the Chané /[illegible]/ and Chiriguano, which has the same meaning as [illegible]. Here, too, the unnatural in sexual life is so shameful that it is not proper to speak of it.

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There are also Indians who never want to speak about such things. This was true, for example, of a Chiriguano whom I had with me on my first trip on the Rio Parapetí. He even pretended that he had never heard such things mentioned. When

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[illegible]

I asked him about homosexuality among his countrymen, he feigned stupidity and said more or less: "Is that what the whites do?"

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Among the Indians, as among ourselves, there are nevertheless some who take pleasure in telling obscene stories. Such a one was the old Chané Bëyra, he who had the abusive name yäruhuua, big-mouth. The more disagreeable the things he related, the more old Bëyra enjoyed himself. Sometimes he told such things that even my friend Batirayu, who used to interpret, was quite embarrassed. The old Chiriguano Yambáu was also one who could tell all kinds of obscene stories.

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[116]
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[538]
[831]

6. Nordenskiöld--70 E-4 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano

Chane SF8

/[illegible] cont./

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[illegible] told how the fox-god, Aguaratunpa, and the iguana lizard, [illegible], had a homosexual relationship. [illegible]'s story was so extraordinarily realistic that I cannot possibly reproduce it here. He also told how the fox married a wood fowl (?), "[illegible]," who was also a man.

1. Penelope./

Aguara (the fox) once came to the hut of the wood fowl.

"How are you, brother?" said the fox.

"Fine, come sit down, brother," said the wood fowl.

The fox sat down. The wood fowl had hung up many moles, "[illegible]," which he had caught.

"Do you want to eat moles?" said the wood fowl.

"Yes," said the fox and ate one. He then asked for another, and another, etc.

/[illegible]/ Finally he asked if he might take two along for his children. The wood fowl gave them to him. The fox, who had no children, devoured these too.

"Do you have a wife?" said the fox.

"No, I live here with my sister," said the wood fowl.

The fox then departed. When he came to a "supua" plant, he hung his penis up, took down a fruit, and put it at the place where his penis had been. The supua looks like a vulva. The fox then took his tembeta out and plugged the hole. Then he came to a house where several women lived.

"Do you want to trade tiru (women's attire), necklace, and hair band with me for a horse?" said the fox.

"Where do you have your horse?" said the women.

"I shall come with it tomorrow," said the fox. Then he was given tiru, necklace, and hair band, put all this on, and set out by a different route for the house of the wood fowl. When he arrived there, no one was at home. So he lay down in the hammock. After a while the wood fowl came home.

"Where do you come from?" said the wood fowl.

"From my father," answered the fox. The fox now cooked two moles and ate them. Then he cooked two more and ate these too. Thereupon he cooked two more and ate them.

/223 cont./

Ce 539 831 In the evening the fox asked the sister of the wood fowl: "Where do you want to lie?" "Here," she said.

"Then I shall lie down beside you," said the fox. A little farther away the wood fowl lay down. When the sister had fallen asleep, the fox stretched out his hand and took hold of the wood fowl. The latter came and lay down beside the fox.

"Are you married?" said the wood fowl.

/224/ "No, my mama did not want to marry me off," answered the fox... (1)

1. Omitted as being too realistic.

The fox now slept two nights with the wood fowl and became pregnant. After a time the fox gave birth.

One day several birds came by there. "Give me a bow and arrow, I want to shoot," said the fox. "You cannot shoot, after all you are not a man," said the wood fowl.

"I am a man," said the fox; he took a bow and arrow and departed. When he came to the "supua," he took down his penis and put it on again.

Ce 838 [735] a [838] Ce [762] I was told about a Chané Indian from Yacundai on the Rio Parapiti who was in the habit of wandering about in strange villages as a sponger. The Indians finally got tired of him, and once when he was completely drunk several Chiriguano Indians in the Caipipendi valley abused him. After this insult he betook himself to the lower Rio Parapiti. When news of what had happened to him in Caipipendi reached there, he hung himself in despair over this disgrace.

Ce 838 Ea [681] [762] [684] Strangely enough, it is not regarded as a disgrace among these Indians to be the active one in a homosexual relationship, but the passive one is deeply despised. He is regarded as a woman. This is the reason why some inconsiderate whites punish incorrigible Indians with -- an enema. An Indian thus mollified disappears forever. It is assumed that he commits suicide. An Indian punishes his unfaithful wife by means of "tévi" and then leaves her. I saw Chané boys playing "tévi."

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/224 cont./

According to Westermarck (2), homosexuality is very

2. Westermarck: Ursprung und Entwickelung der Moralbegriffe /Origin and Development of Ideas of Morality/. Vol. II. Leipzig, 1909.

widespread among the Indians of America. The conception that this is a disgrace is by no means as marked everywhere as it is among the Indians mentioned here.

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/225/ Among the Chané and Chiriguano I did not hear anything about onanism. Among the Choroti, on the other hand, it is said to be practiced by the men who are ignored by the women at a dance.

Perversions in the relationship between men and women, which were common in ancient Peru, do not seem to occur here. The primitive mammal position in coitus is said to be common among the Chaco tribes.

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Mataco gave me a root which they used as an aphrodisiac.

The relationship between human beings and animals is so intimately intertwined in the legends of the Indians that one cannot always determine whether they mean the one or the other. The legends that describe love affairs between human beings and animals are not descriptions of bestiality, which seems to be unknown among these Indians.

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The sense of modesty has developed very differently among these peoples. It seems to me to depend very much on the mode of dress. None of these Indian men or women of whom I have spoken here regards it as improper, insofar as they have not been completely corrupted or civilized, to expose the upper part of the body. The Chiriguano and Chané women are much more ashamed than the Choroti and Ashluslay when they expose the sexual parts. The latter were very reluctant to undress completely in order to be photographed. I did not even dare propose such a thing to the former.

Ec
[126]

C Ce 834 171

/225 cont./

Nevertheless, if in the evening one sat beside the fire in the hut and was acquainted with the family, they seemed to be quite free and easy. The Choroti and Ashluslay men are very shameless. The men among the Chané and Chiriguano, on the other hand, less so. It is very common for the Chiriguano and Chané women, conversing in a group, to pass water standing up and to let the urine run down their legs, which may be regarded as less than clean. The men, on the other hand, always step aside in order to relieve themselves.

C Ce [514]

C Ce 833 171 834

/226/ As has been mentioned, the sexual act among the Ashluslay often takes place in the presence of onlookers. At the Choroti /Fig. 114 appears here/ dances one had to be careful in the darkness not to stumble over the loving couples. One never sees anything like that among the Chiriguano or Chané. Since many /227/ are lying in the same hut, however, one sees even among them what one always sees if one has overnight guests. This is not the least reason why the sexual life has no secrets even for small children.

C Ce 834 177 577

Apparently life with the whites heightens the sense of modesty. The Indian women are even embarrassed to expose their breasts. Morality declines in proportion as the sense of modesty grows.

This should be taken into consideration by all those who sew clothing for naked heathen children.

C Ce 121

Many of my readers may perhaps feel that this chapter should not have been included in my book. Nevertheless, it seems to me proper to say something about deviations in the sexual sphere. It contributes to an understanding of the people whom I am describing here. I have, of course, not been able to speak about all the realism that came out in the conversations around the camp fire (1).

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1. If our daily papers, which are meant for the public, write about all kinds of things, one need not be too prudish in a travel account.

6: Nordenskiöld--79 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano

Chane SF8

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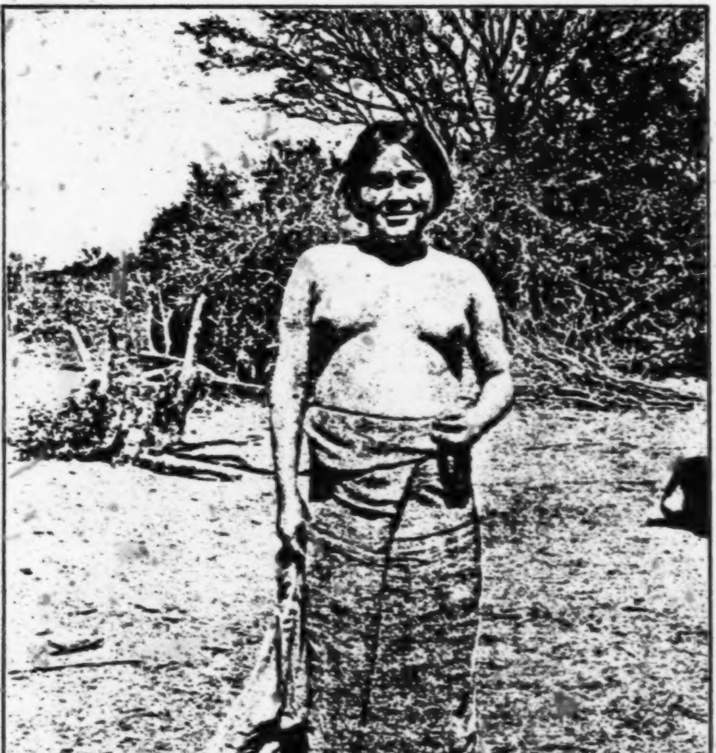

Fig. 114. Young Chané woman exposes the upper body in order to be photographed. Rio Parapiti.

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/227 cont./

The Indians regard the natural aspect of sexual life very differently from the way we view it as a rule. We do not find among these people all the corruption which is in civilized society, but various things are to be found here already. As far as homosexuality in particular is concerned, conditions among primitive peoples, as is known, show that the cause of the evil lies much deeper than in our hypercivilization.

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Chapter Fourteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Chiefs and Laws

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The chiefs have an entirely different position among the Chané and Chiriguano than among the Ashluslay and Choroti. They have considerable power. Among the chiefs there are the great chiefs, who rule over several villages, and the village chiefs, who have command over only one village or a part of one. Among the great chiefs whom I met, the noteworthy ones are the old woman Vuäyruyi, the chief over the Chané villages on the Rio Itiyuro, Taruiri, who rules over most of the Caipipendi valley, Mandepora (Fig. 111), who in former times had considerable power in and around Machareti, and Maringay in the Iguembe valley.

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Nowadays the chiefs have no symbol of their office other than silver-mounted sticks. According to Corrado, they formerly wore a large tuft of hair on the head, "yattira," as well as green stones which hung at their ears. At the festivals and dances they had the right to use the "yandugua," a rod decorated with a bunch of ostrich feathers, and "iguirape," a staff carved with peculiar figures. Of these I was able to acquire only a yandugua. I did not even see the rest.

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The office of chief seems to be hereditary as a rule. Capability and the art of using words well are required, however.

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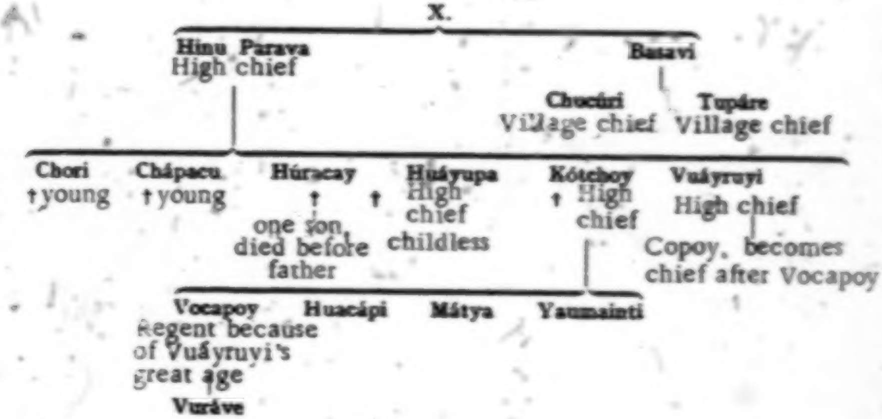
Vocapoy gave me his family tree, which I reproduce here because it is very instructive, and I venture to believe that it may interest the reader to study an Indian family tree.

Vocapoy's Family Tree


X.
Hinu Parava
High chief
Basavi
Chucúri
Village chief
Tupáre
Village chief
Chori
† young
Chápacu
† young
Húracay
†
†
one son,
died before
father
Huáyupa
High
chief
childless
Kótchoy
†
High
chief
Vuáyruyi
High chief
Copoy, becomes
chief after Vocapoy
Vocapoy
Regent because
of Vuáyruyi's
great age
Huacápi
Mátya
Yaumainti
Vuráve

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Thus we find that the real chief on the Rio Itiyuro is a woman. I visited old Vuáyruyi. She received me with great dignity, lying in her hammock. Since the woman is old and weak, Vocapoy governs and tries, as best he can, to protect his people against the whites, who have completely appropriated their land. I asked Vocapoy why Vuáyruyi, as a woman, became chief. "Her father, Hinu Parawa, taught her to speak," said Vocapoy. Thus, these Indians regard it as most important to have command of the language in order to rule. These people are able to value intelligence more than strength. No one becomes chief who is not an older man. The husband of Vuáyruyi was not a chief, but only "prince consort." The village chiefs also belong to the family /Geschlechte/ of Hinu Parava.

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Taruiri, too, is not the actual chief, but is substituting for a younger relative, who, as a result of his /230/ constant drunkenness, is regarded as unfit. Taruiri rules in the Caipipendi valley, where his territory is still free, but will probably soon be usurped by the whites. In Ivu there is a Chiriguano chief who is also a medicine man. This is the only example of theocracy that I found.

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/230 cont./

The chiefs' families form a sort of aristocracy among the Chiriguano and Chané. Several times I heard Indians boast about their good family connections. A Chiriguano who accompanied me for some time as an interpreter was eager to impress upon me that he was related to the most famous high chiefs.

Just as the author of this book is customarily introduced as the son of Adolf Nordenskiöld, so the Indians were wont to introduce in similar fashion the sons of their "great men."

I even discovered a bit of deception in connection with the family tree. A Chané claimed direct descent from the great Hinu Parava, which, however, is said to be untrue.

If one wishes to find beautiful things from olden times among these Indians, one must first look for them in the chiefs' families. They keep the old treasures.

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[177]

More and more the white authorities are beginning to appoint the chiefs. Thus, in one region one can find a chief supported by the whites and a legitimate one.

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The chiefs have great power, and, as far as I could see, they are always obeyed, in contrast to conditions among the Choroti and Ashluslay. They own the land (at least in certain regions), not for themselves, but for the tribe. If one needs porters in a Chané or Chiriguano village, one gets them from the chief, and no Indian will refuse to carry out the orders of the chief.

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Although the chief has such great influence, /231/ he nevertheless works in the same way as the other Indians. Vocapoy himself, for example, carried home the heavy wood for cooking the maize beer, and his wife had to cook and sweep, like the other women.

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Following the example of the whites, however, a few of the most civilized and wealthy Indians, such as Taco, now have servants from their own tribe, but this was not done originally.

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On the other hand, as I have mentioned elsewhere, it is not unusual for the Mataco-Vejos and the Tapiete to work for the Chiriguano and Chané.

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When we came home to Vocapoy's village from hunting and shared our booty with the chief /Fig. 115 appears here/, his wife accepted everything, but then went around to the houses and gave her neighbors everything that she had received.

C /231 cont./

Ce 565 One cannot speak here of rich and poor in the same village,
556 though there is the beginning of a nobility. On the other hand,
621 there are rich and poor villages. There are relatively wealthy
individual Indians, but they, like Taco, live like the whites.

Ce The chief is the judge and in former times was the leader
622 of the fighting men.

701 642 Vocapoy told me murder was punished by sentencing the
643 murderer to work up to half a year for the family of the one slain.
Ce A thief gets up to 50 lashes and is sent to another village so that he
682 will not be killed. According to Vocapoy, it is the duty of the
chief to prevent blood revenge by sending away the offenders so
that they will not be murdered. The murder of father, mother, or
child is, according to his assertions, unknown in his region.

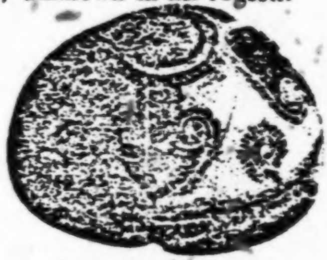

Fig. 115. Calabash. Chiriguano. Itapenbia. 1/6.

Ce 692 According to Batirayu,
643 whose statements are more
681 reliable than those of /232/
C Vocapoy, the high chief of
531 the Chané on the Rio Parapiti
415 deals with no offenses other
Ce than murder, seduction of
682 another woman, and bewitchment. Murder with
poisoned chicha, "bád-dyási,"
Ce 684 occurred in former times among the Chané. Murderer and be-
Ce witcher were burned. The seducer of a woman was deprived of all
685 his possessions. For the rest, theft and other offenses were settled
681 by means of duels. If a person stole something, the injured one
and the thief called their relatives together, and they fought on the
Ce open plaza in the village.

177 The administrative authorities of the whites are now inter-
Ce 643 vening more and more in the legal affairs of the Indians.

622 In war with other tribes the chief gives the orders, as they
721 did in the uprisings of the Indians against the whites.

Ce According to Vocapoy, the chief owns the land for the
423 tribe. Batirayu said the land rights are arranged so that everyone
622 plants what he wishes. Land that has been cultivated has its owner,
643 even if it has lain fallow for years.

SF10
Chane SF8

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Ce /232 cont./
423 even if it has lain fallow for years. Thus, fallow land is also
428 inherited.
Ce Otherwise inheritance is considerably curtailed by the
422 fact that the deceased takes part of his treasures along with him
428 into the grave.
764 As among the Ashluslay and Choroti, the right of owner-
Ce ship is well developed here too, and the women own what they
421 use and make. As among the aforementioned tribes, generosity is
171 very great here too, even though, thanks to our "civilization" and to
Ce
425 the mission, it is less conspicuous.
177 Chiriguano social life -- we are not familiar with the
C original Chané social life -- was much more tightly organized
174 than the social life of the Choroti and Ashluslay. The Chiriguano
648 were a conquering people who probably subjugated the Chané
and fought bravely and successfully against the Inca, and also
resisted the invasion of the whites for a long time. If, instead
of the /233/ many chiefs, there had been but a single one, the
conquest of the land of the Chiriguano would quite certainly have
cost the lives of twice as many whites as now. Unfortunately, in
the battles of the whites against the Indians, there were almost
always a few chiefs fighting on the side of the enemy against
their own tribes. In the last uprising, decided by the battle at
Curuyuqui, the whites had an auxiliary force of a couple of
thousand Indians, with whom they fought against the fellow-
C tribesmen of the latter.
Ca Just as everything changes in the life of the Indians when
177 the whites conquer their land, so also are social relations altered.
By the time Vocapoy, Maringay, Mandepora, and a few others
are lying in clay vessels under the huts, the end will have come;
then the Indians will have no laws other than those of the whites,
Ca no authorities other than the latter's administrators. The Chané
643 on the Rio Parapiti, as was said, no longer have a high chief.
177 Batirayu was offered this position, but he does not wish to be the
servant of the whites; he is too proud for that. "It is not as it was
in olden times," said Batirayu to the eccentric white man who
sought understanding and the confidence of the Indians.

SF 10

Chane SF8

/234/

Chapter Fifteen

Drinking Bouts among the Chané and Chiriguano

Ee 178 527 273 [538] [805]

If a Chané or Chiriguano tells a legend, he often begins it thus: "A long time ago there was once a great drinking bout." If he reports something that happened, some illness of a relative or the like, he will say: "It was before or after the festival." Indeed, at these festivals one hears and sees most of what has remained of the old culture of these Indians. This is when the most beautiful clay vessels appear, this is when one sees costumes from olden times, this is when the stone ornaments are taken out of the treasure jars.

Ee 273 415 527 531

Among us a housewife is proud if she can show her guests beautiful tablecloths and fine porcelain. The Chané and Chiriguano women think the same way. At festivals each woman wants the maize beer at her house to be brought out in clay vessels more beautiful than those of her neighbors and to be served in calabashes that are more elegantly decorated than those of anyone else.

Ee 531 [527] [323] [462]

That is why, before each festival, the women are occupied with making clay vessels and the men with the decoration of calabashes. In the Chané and Chiriguano villages one sees magnificent collections of clay vessels. A few women in particular know how to paint these with superior skill and elegance. One almost never sees three jugs that are entirely alike. Each one tries to appear at the festival with something original, to paint something new and pretty. As far as linear /235/ ornamentation is concerned, they know how to vary the old ornamentation, but they do not know how or do not want to free themselves from them and open up new paths. The /Fig. 116 appears here/ Indian woman is conservative in her art and is able /236/ to free herself from the models of her mother's or grandmother's time only if she takes her motifs directly from nature and paints animals. By no means all the women in the villages are artists. There are some whom nature has endowed with the gift of art, and some true bunglers. Who can paint clay vessels as one of the wives of

Ee [181]

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Who can paint clay vessels as Chane SF8

c /236 cont./ one of the wives of

531 the Chiriguano chief Maringay can? They are famous far and
[437] wide in the valleys, and everyone tries to acquire her works
Ce through barter. I, not the least, admired her sure and discriminating art.
531 The wife of the Chané chief Vocapoy (Pl. 19) is also no dabbler.

Ec
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531 Where the Indians are rich, that is, have large maize harvests, the pottery is beautiful. Where they are poor and the

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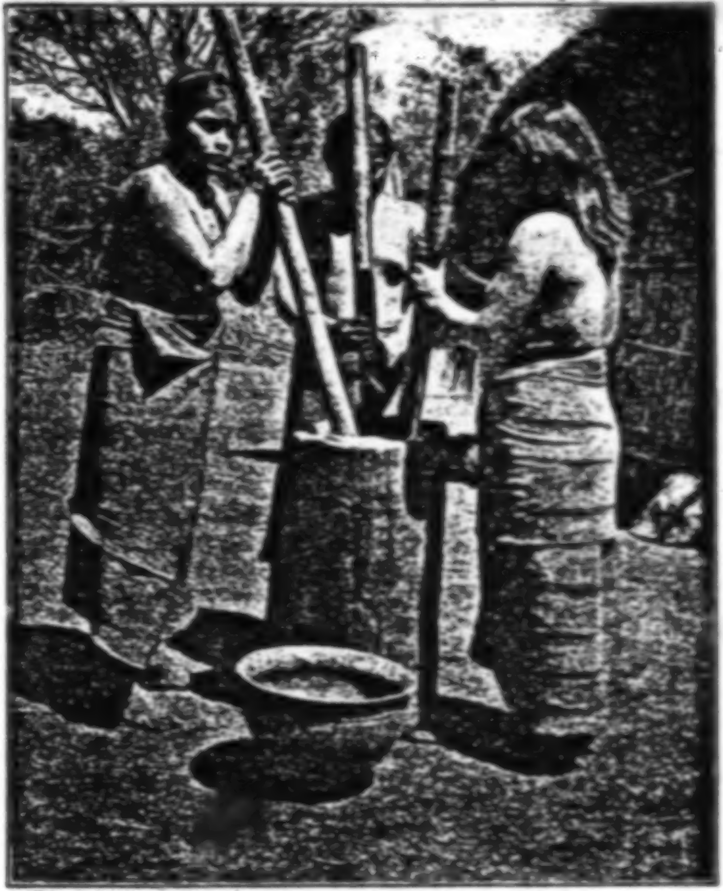

Fig. 116. Chané girls pound maize in a mortar.
Rio Parapiti.

Ec
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531 struggle for existence is hard, they do not have much time for artistic work. If art is to flourish in the Indian home, joy and mirth must prevail.

/236 cont./

Ee 531/177 The younger generation, I fear, will prefer German porcelain and enamelware, and with that the Chiriguano and Chané art will become part of the many fine and beautiful things that will disappear before the brutal civilization of the white man. In many villages one is already obliged to rummage around in the corners of the huts if one wishes to find vessels painted with a sure hand and natural taste. The worst thing, however, is that the whites are beginning to take pleasure in the clay vessels of the Indians. This brings about mass production. For the whites everything is good enough, it need be neither beautiful nor well done. They do not want the tasteful and simple, but the garnish and strange, "curiosidades," as the Creole says. Our museums must beware of these curiosities, for they give a mistaken idea of what is truly Indian.

Ee 273 The women brew beer for the festival. This is supposed to be made with maize (preferably yellow or white), and only the poor Chané on the Rio Parapiti must often content themselves with beer made out of sweet potatoes. If algarroba is available, beer is also brewed from this fruit. "It is good and intoxicates so nicely," say the Indians.

Ee 527 261/433 /237/ If the maize harvest is abundant, there is joy in the villages; then there is food and drink in every hut. If the maize crop has failed, there is no joy, stomachs are empty, and it is quiet on the festival plaza. If the granaries are full of maize, the Indian is proud and does not care about whites, suppression, and trouble. If the barn is empty, he is subservient and morose.

Ee 273 After the women have fetched the maize from the granaries and the men have brought wood and the women water, /Fig. 117 appears here/ the brewing commences. First the maize is pounded in large mortars. Day and night one hears the busy women pounding. The pounded maize is sifted and then mixed with water in huge clay vessels and boiled. Then a portion is taken out, chewed, and mixed well with saliva. This is then poured into the rest and, after it has been strained, must ferment in large open vessels with a little heat. The pots are stirred with large wooden spatulas

C
Ce
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[412]
[237]

The pots are stirred with large
/237 cont./ wooden spatulas (Fig. 118a) or with shoulderblades provided with handles (Fig. 118b). It is the pride of every woman to brew good beer, "cangui," and much beer. Indeed, they are /238/ indefatigably busy. One sees them working all day, and even at night they are busy cooking and grinding. No family may refrain from making cangui.

The use of saliva may perhaps seem unsanitary. At first I thought this too, but soon I was so hardened that the cangui prepared with saliva-yeast in Indian fashion tasted better to me than that brewed by the whites in a civilized way.

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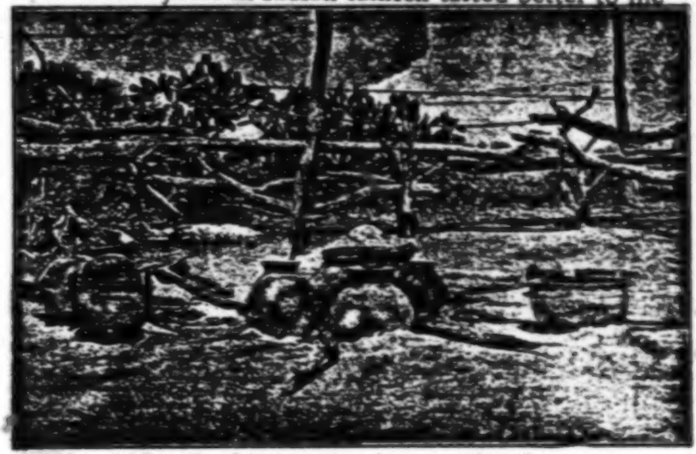

Fig. 117. Cooking maize beer. Chané.
Rio Itiyuro.

C
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Connoisseurs, not only Indians, are said to be of the same opinion as I. It is important, however, that the cangui be drunk cold; it is unpalatable lukewarm. When it has stood for a long time, it is somewhat intoxicating, but not as much so as algarroba beer.

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Ce
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There is a great deal of ceremony connected with cangui drinking. In front, on benches and stools (Fig. 85), sit the men, and behind them, on the ground, the women. The older ladies are given the best places. The hostess brings in the cangui in her

E
Ec /238 cont./
273 finest clay vessels, "yambuy," and places these in front of her
574 guests (Figs. 77 and 78). The person before whom a vessel with
576 cangui is placed must serve. This applies to the chiefs as well.
Even I served at Indian social gatherings. It is not unusual for
the men to serve the women and vice versa. The cangui is poured
into decorated calabashes which are passed in turn. Everyone
must drink up. A person who refuses is impolite and ill-bred.
It is not appropriate for a person to pour for himself. If one
wishes to be polite to the server, he first drains his bowl, then
fills it himself, and offers it to him. If one drinks everything
offered, he is a friend of the Indians. If one refuses, the Indians
become mistrustful of him. An old Chané once said to me:
"You are a nice Christian, even in the morning you drink maize
beer with us." When Moberg returned home from the hunt laden
with booty, the young and pretty women crowded around the
happy huntsman and welcomed him with a calabash of maize
beer. /239/ What were the hardships of the hunt /Fig. 118 appears
e here/ compared to those of drinking, for the women whose bowl
Ce he left untouched would never forget the insult. If one has
[754] enemies, the drinking of cangui can be dangerous, for who knows
if someone has not put a bit of his own excrement or hair in the
beer, so that one will be bewitched and die. Such things happen
C in these villages.

Ce At the festivals, evidences of Indian humor often come to
522 light: One joke, for example, is to act as though one were hand-
527 ing around cangui in a calabash turned upside down, another is to
c ask someone to play the flute on a misshapen reed.

Ce 535 Dance masks are now worn by the Chiriguano and Chané
532 only during the carnival, the great drinking festival of the
177 Christians. Those that I saw had the form of human faces (Fig. 119).

541 Very different opinions prevail among the Indians about
ce 532 whether or not the masks here are of Indian origin. Vocapoy
177 said the idea for them had originally come from the whites.
535 Batirayu, on the other hand, maintained that as a boy on the Rio
co [796] Parapiti he saw among the Chané some of the present masks, which

Cc /239 cont./
535 were used at their great festivals. In his opinion, the Chané used
532 masks before the whites came to the country. /240/ In addition
177 in those days they had around their legs
796 rattles made out of fruits and on their
[534] [237] heads feather ornaments of parrot feathers.

Ec The Chiriguano and Chané
532 always destroy the masks after the
177 carnival. They are either burned
541 or thrown into the river. The Chané
535 call the masks "añaña."

C It is strange what a great
Cc role the carnival now plays as a
541 festival among the Indians. This
177 undoubtedly comes from the fact
[464] that the whites distribute great quantities of spirits there and that the Indians
who work for them are given a few
days off at that time.

Ec Guests often come from a great
527 distance to the festivals. They appear
273 there in their finest clothing and orna-
292 ments, freshly painted and nicely
574 combed. Most of the old costumes
301 and ornaments, however, have already
disappeared. Nevertheless one still
C sees women in home-woven clothing
Cc with necklaces of chrysocolla and
[178] turquoise. I never saw used, however,
C the silver diadem and the silver
412 pins which belong to the festive attire.
237 → One often sees the men's blue
costumes (Fig. 81) with silver
chest ornaments preserved in the
huts by the old people, but they
Cc are not used for the festivals.
535 Among the Chané in the Itiyuro
527 valley I saw the Indians dance at a cangui festival. Around a "yambuy"
273 of cangui stood a few old men in twos, singing a monotonous song
533

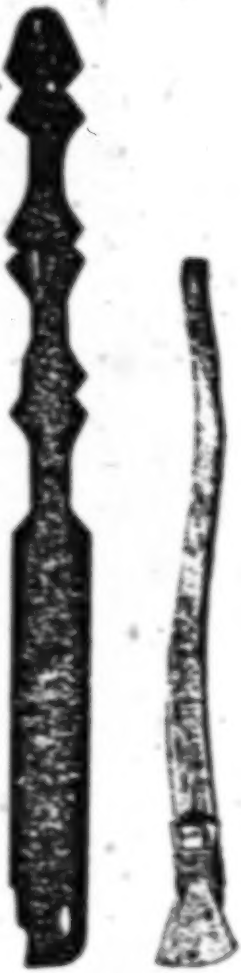

Fig. 118. Soup spatulas, Chiriguano.
A = Tihuipa. 1/8.
B = Caipipendi. 1/6.

SF10
Chane SF8

Ce
527 /240 cont./
533 and beating time with their feet. The women walked slowly
535 up and down in time with the song, outside the circle of men.
273 Among the Chané and Chiriguano the attire of the white
Ce man is replacing everything old and beautiful, and of my many
291 old friends among the chiefs of these Indians only Maringay
177 scorns the rags of the whites.
c
ce Liquor is being introduced more and more among these
273 Indians, and the ceremonial, pleasant maize-beer festivals are
177 turning into crude drinking bouts.
527

c
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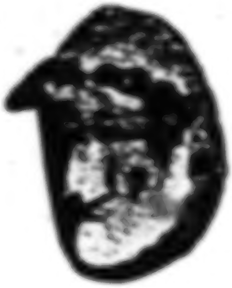

Fig. 119. Dance mask.
ce Chiriguano. Yacuiba. 1/6.

578 I shall never forget a night in Vocapoy's village. The
273 /241/ men had gone to the Christians to drink liquor. When they
177 came back, harsh words fell and knives were displayed. The liquor would have claimed bloody sacrifices if the courageous women, with firebrands from the maize-beer boiling, had not thrown themselves between the quarreling men and, after separating them, taken them home with soothing words of flattery.

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Chapter Sixteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Art and Industry

C Ca 285 323 177 The Chiriguano and Chané are tribes whose art-industry is on a very high level. If one visits one of the huts of the white settlers in these regions, one will not see many products of native industry, not much of their own culture. I know of absolutely nothing that these people are capable of doing which can compare with the pottery and the weaving technique of the Indians. C Ca [271] One thing is certain, the more "civilized" the Indians become, the less they accomplish in the way of art and industry. They do not learn much more from the whites than how to make and drink liquor. Indian art-industry is gradually disappearing here, the more the Indians come in contact with the whites, but it is not transformed. It remains largely purely Indian until its final destruction. C Ca 325 171 439 000 One industry, however, is now in the hands of the whites, namely, the metal industry. The silver ornaments which, for example, the Chiriguano and Chané use are made by the smiths in the villages of the mountain regions. The half-white or Quichua /Quechua/ Indian population which we come across in the mountains west of the land of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is quite skilled artistically. 8c 286 171 The weaving technique in particular is very highly developed there. The Chiriguano and Chané undoubtedly learned a great deal from the west.

C 534 171 291 413 Thus we find the serére pipe[2] (Fig. 120) characteristic of the Chiriguano in collections from the coast of Peru (1); /Plate 1 appears here/ /243/ the pin for fastening women's clothing

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1. Serére also occur among the Lengua, Ashluslay, Chiriguano, Chané, Churápa, and Yuracáre.

[2] [A flute-like musical instrument--Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 94]

6: Nordenskiöld--93 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano

Chane SF8

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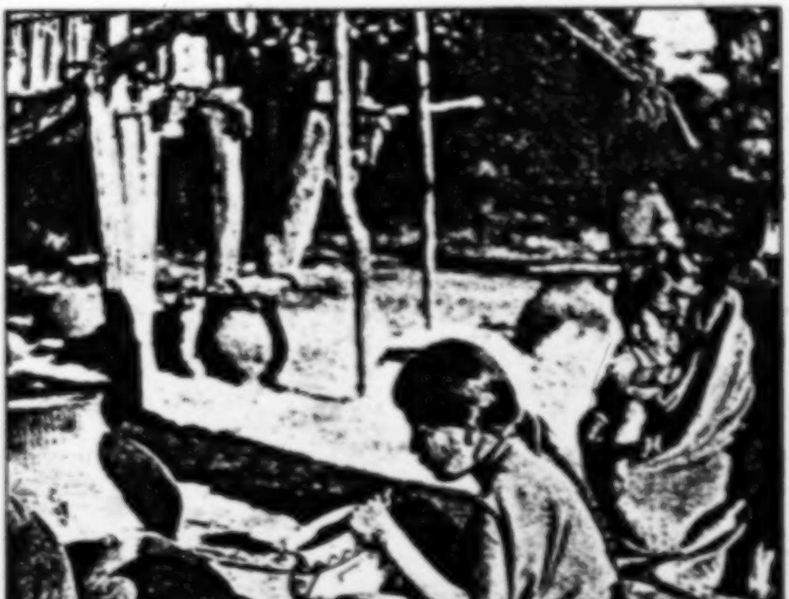

Plate 19. The wife of the Chané chief Vocapoy paints a clay vessel. Rio Itiyuro.

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Chane SF8

C
/243 cont./

171 (Fig. 130) is typically Peruvian in form, as is the silver hair re-
291 mover, of which, however, I have no specimen. The festive
[534] costume of the man (Fig. 81) also seems to me to have a Peruvian
[413] cut. It is possible, however, that the influence of Peru did not
C
177 manifest itself among the Chiriguano until after the conquest of
the plateau by the Spanish.

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Boman (1) has proved that the Chiriguano, or more correctly the Gûarani tribe to which these Indians belong, formerly extended much farther south than they do now. He found there the grave urns so characteristic of them.

C
Ce
171 The material culture of the Chané Indians does not, in general, differ very much from the culture of the Chiriguano.
Ce
[323] The Chané, on the other hand, who are more isolated on the Rio Parapiti, have a completely independent pottery which we
C→
[534] do not find again among the Chiriguano.
531 If we compare the remaining products of Chané
-C
[184] and Chiriguano industry, we do not find any greater differences than we find in the various Chiriguano villages themselves.

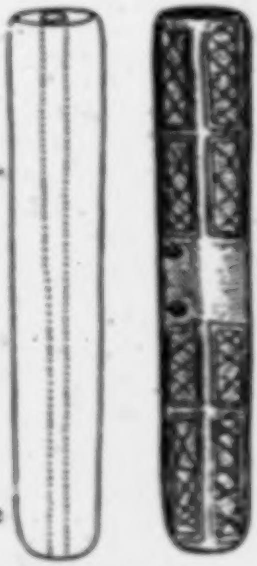

Fig. 120. Serére pipe. Chiriguano. 1/4.

C
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184 For example, if one collects clay vessels in the Iguembe valley and in the Caipipendi valley, both of which valleys are occupied by Chiriguano, one inevitably finds that the pottery, though strongly related in ornamentation and form, nevertheless /244/ also varies locally. I have already spoken of the individual variations (p. 85).

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1. Boman: Antiquités de la Région Andine. Vols. 1-2. Paris, 1908.

Ca /244 cont./

28 [323] [531] [184] Of the various industries, pottery stands particularly high among the Chiriguano and Chané (see the illustrations). They are also skilled weavers and decorators of calabashes. Basketry occurs, but chiefly in the northern part of their region. Feather work is no longer done at the present time. Only ropes and fish nets, and on the Rio Parapiti hammocks and carrying nets, are made with caraguata bast.

Ea [439] The bags of this material, so characteristic of the Chaco tribes, are never made by the Chiriguano and Chané, but are occasionally acquired by trade between the tribes.

Ce 323 Among the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro I followed the making

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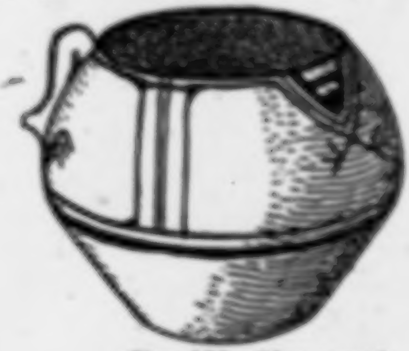

Fig. 121. Clay vessel. Chiriguano. Caipipendi valley. 1/4.

Ce 323 of pots. The clay is ground and mixed with pounded, fired potsherds, so that the vessel does not fall apart during the firing.

Ce [413] [804] The clay vessels are built up out of rolls in customary Indian fashion. For smoothing a mussel shell or a maize cob without kernels, as well as a narrow little bamboo stick, is used. The maize cobs make parallel, fine scratches (1). The bamboo stick

Ce [172]

1. From similar scratches on clay vessels which one finds in archaeological diggings, one can see that the makers of the clay vessels had maize. I have seen this, for

/264 cont./

823
[172]

1. (cont.)
example, on clay vessels from Ojo de Agua in Quebrada del Toro in northern Argentina.

[516]

Fig. 122. Firing clay vessels. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

[415]
[204]

is also used for measuring during the manufacturing process in order to obtain the proper proportions. /265/ After that the vessel is dried in the shade for a day before it is fired. As a rule, one works on only one or two vessels at the same time.

Ce 323 531 /265 cont./

The coarser vessels, as well as all cooking vessels, are decorated with only finger imprints and clay loops put on them. Ce [237] The finer vessels are subsequently painted (see Pl. 19 /see p. 93/). /266/ With a brush made of aguti hairs (1) the decorations are [413]

Ce [386] painted in white, dark brown, and black. The white pigment is a kind of earth (kaolin); the others are made out of slate and sandstone. Ce 323 They paint freehand and compose the decorations from memory, not from models. Wood, maize cobs, and cow excrement are heaped around the vessel. The fuel is lighted and must burn with a vigorous fire for a quarter of an hour or, if the vessel is large, even longer (Fig. 122).

Ce [314] [824] If the vessel has been painted, it is varnished with resin, "tatavirusi," which is collected from a Mimosoideae, and with resin from the palo santo (see p. 93 /untranslated; Palosanto is identified there as Bulnesia Sarmienti/). The former gives a yellowish polish; the latter looks like greenish-black glaze.

Ce [789] When a pot is made, it is baptized before it has cooled, so that water will boil rapidly in it.

C 537 323 386 In Maringay's village individual vessels were painted with a mixture of urucú or some other color and a vegetable fat. I was unable to see how this latter was prepared.

Ea 286 The Chiriguano and Chané women are skillful weavers. The material for the Indian weaving is, as a rule, cotton and sometimes sheep wool.

Ea [439] [177] Since large quantities of cloth are imported by the whites, native weaving is disappearing more and more. Thus, I did not see any looms among the Chané in the Itiyuro valley, and native woven goods were very rare.

Ea 286 531 [797] As a rule, all the weaving of these Indians is without ornamentation, or else this is very simple. The girls in the missions learn from the monks how to embroider all kinds of flowers, such as roses, violets, etc. They do this superbly.

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1. Dasyprocta.

Ee
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[797]

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/246 cont./

Strangely enough, after they leave the sewing class, the Indian women cease to use these decorations. It would be better if the missionaries taught the Indian children /247/ decorations connected with their imaginative life. The results of their work would then be entirely different.

A couple of generations ago a few Chané women learned from a Quichua woman how to weave decorations which one still sees on various Chané fabrics. They were stylized animals and human beings. Plant ornamentation does not make much impression on the Indian women. Animal and human figures stimulate their imagination, and they teach them to their children.

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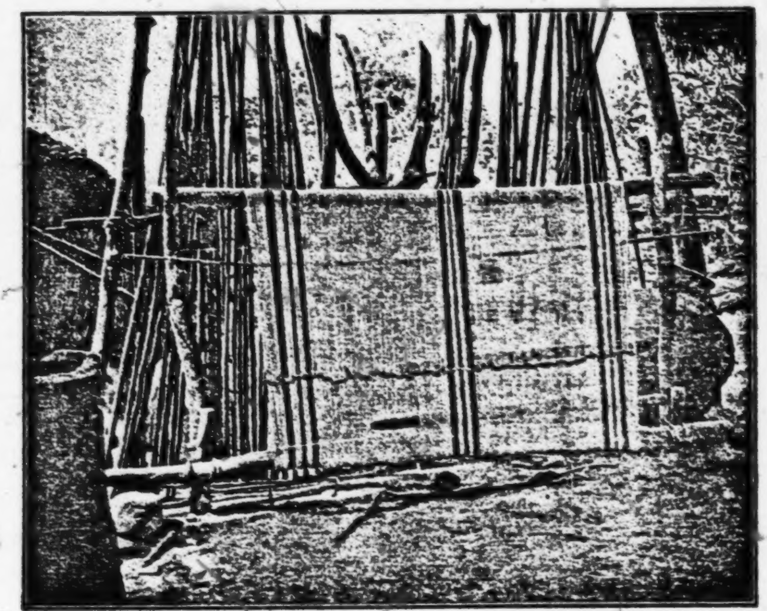

Fig. 123. Loom. Chiriguano.
Tihuīpa.

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[171]

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Chane SF8

Ec /247 cont./

531 The Chiriguano and Chané men are clever in the deco-
322 ration of calabashes (Fig. 126), carve attractive pipes (Fig.
281 120), and know how to tan leather, which they probably learned
177c from the whites.

Cc Among these Indians one does not see much in the way
of plastic representations of animal and human figures. The
532 clay /248/ vessels sometimes have animal shapes. The
C Chané women on the Rio Parapiti fashioned lumpy little dolls
[126] out of wax for their children (Fig. 105). Some of the clay
[437] vessels are painted with animal figures. A vessel from the Rio

Cc
285 →

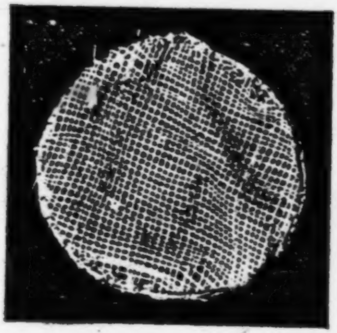

Fig. 124.
Sieve. Rio Parapiti.
1/8.

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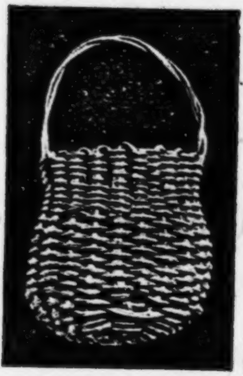

Fig. 125. Basket
Chiriguano.
Caipipendi. 1/6.

Ec
532 Itiyuro, which I acquired through barter, is adorned with tree
figures. Occasionally one sees clay vessels in the shape of fruits.

Cc
[353] I saw drawings representing human beings and animals
on the walls in a few Chané huts and on a few Chiriguano
Ec calabashes from the Caipipendi valley.

285 As for basket work, the sieves are so popular among the
[439] whites that through trade they are being distributed far beyond
the Chiriguano and Chané region. Otherwise the Chané and
Chiriguano make few baskets. We find basket work in quantities
only among the Indians where the matching-leaved palms begin,
and that is at Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

6: Nordenskiöld--100 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF 8

Ee /248 cont./
439 When we present a collection from the Chiriguano and Chané,
177 we must not forget that, through trade between the tribes, they
have obtained many things from the Mataco, Toba, Choroti, and
Tapiete; otherwise we would have a mistaken conception of the
Ee great difference /249/ between the material culture of the Chaco
tribes named here and the Chiriguano and Chané.

171 If we compare the material culture of the Choroti and Chané
Ee with that of the Choroti and Ashluslay likewise described here,
[285] we must remember the following. The Chiriguano and Chané
produce basket work -- the
c Choroti and Ashluslay never.
Ce The former know how to paint
[323] clay vessels before firing,
c which is unknown to the latter.
Ce
[286] The Chiriguano and Chané
never make bags out of
c
[415] →
[531]
caraguata, etc. If, moreover, we compare all the products
made by the Chané and Chiriguano with those of the Choroti
c and Ashluslay, we find that most of them are entirely different.
[177] The Chaco Indians probably learned how to make certain
things, such as the serére (Fig. 120) and huiramimbi pipes (Figs.
36 /omitted in the translation/ and 80), from the Chiriguano,
Ee but this is relatively insignificant.

177 We see here how two cultures can exist side by side for
hundreds of years without mingling.

Ee If we follow the Rio Pilcomayo down toward the mountains,
101 we first come across the Quichua /Quechua/ culture, then come
the Chiriguano and Chané, and after that the Chaquensic /Chaco/
culture which embraces equally the Mataco, Toba, Choroti, and
Ashluslay, as well as the Lengua and other tribes in the Paraguay
Chaco. These three cultures are entirely different.

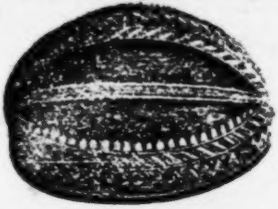

Fig. 126.
Decorated calabash bowl.
Chiriguano. Yacuiba. 1/5.

Chane SF8

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Chapter Seventeen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Ee

Legend and Religion

538 Once there was an old Indian who used to sit beside the fire in his hut in the evening and tell about olden days, about animals, human beings, and spirits. The young people gathered around him, listening. The old man went on and on telling stories. He told them with his mouth, eyes, hands, and feet.

One young person after another, however, soon left the circle of listeners and lay down to sleep. Finally the old man was sitting alone beside the dying fire and talking to himself about the adventures of the fox-god and the armadillo-god.

To me this old man represents the old traditions, a culture that is disappearing. The young people listen for a while, but it is soon too much for them. They have new interests. They have begun dancing the great dance which the Christians call civilization, where the dancing is usually around the golden calf.

Ee

[123] I also sat there as a listener and had the legends explained to me. I believe the old people liked me because I showed such great interest in their old recollections. If I now retell them, I hope the reader will be lenient with me and my old friends, with me because I cannot tell a story as well as the old people, and with the old people because they love everything that is a bit frivolous.

/251/ The legends give us insight into the Indians' ideas of the life beyond and of the spirits. In part through them and in part through the explanations which the Indians have given me, we can understand their religion. We shall hear about the destruction of the world and the theft of fire, about the visit in the realm of the dead, and, above all, about the adventures of the spirits; we shall hear how they deceived one another and human beings, hear of their combats and their vices.

Ce 538 /251 cont./

There is very little moral teaching in these legends. The characters in them are often "tunpa," that is, they have supernatural power, that is all.

Ce [177] As a result of contact with the whites, the legends are not free of foreign elements. Most of them, however, are purely Indian.

Ce 539

1. The Destruction of the World and the Theft of Fire.

Ce [115] Told by the Chané Indian Batirayu from the Rio Parapiti.

In the old days there was once a very poor man who wandered about in the forests and had no permanent residence. When he came into the villages, he was driven away and the dogs sicked on him. When the man saw that he was not wanted in any village, he made himself a hut, "tocay" (1). All kinds of beautiful birds came to the hut, and most of them soon became so tame that he could catch them. The man thought: "If I go to a village with these magnificent birds, perhaps I shall be accepted." So he took the birds and went into the villages. Everybody thought the birds were beautiful, but they did not want to let him settle down anywhere. The man went back to his hut. One day Añatunpa (2) came to him in the shape of a beautiful bird. What a strange bird that is, thought the man. /252/ Añatunpa said he had come to help him and gave him a pair of wings.

"When you come to a village, you must move the wings and then it will thunder," said Añatunpa. "If they will not let you settle down in spite of this, then lift the wings."

Ce [343] [223] 1. Tocay is a hut in which a hunter hides in order to catch birds from there with a snare or arrow.

Ce [776] 2. The great spirit (see p. 108).

Chane SF8

/252 cont./

539 The man went to a village where a great drinking bout was being held. No one wanted to admit him. He moved his wings and it thundered. It was believed that it was the medicine men who were thundering, and no one paid any attention to him. Again he moved his wings and it thundered. It was still believed that the medicine men were thundering, and no one paid any attention to him. When he finally saw that he was not going to be permitted to live there, but would be driven away, he lifted his wings, which he had kept hidden. Then came a storm which swept everyone away, except two boys and a girl.

They, now alone, wanted to cook, but they had no fire. They had squash and maize, but could not roast them. Then an old man, the sun, came to them with a firebrand. He roasted a squash and ate it, but, when he went away, he took the fire with him. He did not want to give them any of it. When the old man came the next time, they decided to steal the fire from him. When he was roasting a squash at the firebrand which he had brought along, one of the boys beat it with a cudgel, so that the sparks flew. The old man quickly gathered them up. Nevertheless they found a tiny little spark under half a squash that had been lying on the ground. They now lighted a fire. Huapi (the weaver bird?) told them they should guard the fire well so that it would never go out. He also told them that if the fire went out they should make fire by friction with the "tatay" (1).

[372] 1. Fire-making implement of wooden sticks.

The younger brother now took his sister as his wife. The older one had no wife. They put a squash into a small hammock and rocked it. The squash grew into /253/ a girl who soon grew into a woman. The older brother took her as his wife. All the Chané came from these two couples.

Chane SF8

/253 cont./

539
[115]

2. The Destruction of the World and the Theft of Fire.

Told by the Chané chief Vocapoya.

A young man went into the forest, and in a pool he saw the image of a beautiful girl whom he followed. He stayed with her for a while, for a month, and his mother already believed he was dead and cut off her hair. She thought he had been bitten by a snake or the like. One day, however, the son came home and said that he had found a pretty girl whom he had married. Then the mother told him to fetch her and brewed a great quantity of maize beer, in order to celebrate her arrival.

The young man came with his wife, and she was pretty and well-dressed. During the festival she changed and became very ugly. Her sister-in-law made a remark about this, and she became angry and left her and went back to where she had come from, saying she would have her revenge. She said, however, that first a boy and a girl should be set in a large clay vessel. A brother and a sister, together with seeds of maize, squash, and beans, were set in a clay vessel, and the jar was tightly covered. When this had been done, it began to rain dreadfully, and the houses and everything were covered with water. The jar, however, floated on top. All the human beings and animals drowned in the rising water. For a long time the clay vessel floated about, and the boy and the girl were already beginning to grow up. Then the water fell, but when they wanted to climb out, the ground was still marshy, and they had to wait until it was dry.

When they came out of the clay vessel they sowed maize, squash, and beans with the seed they had with them. These ripened in half a month. They had no fire. At some /254/ distance they saw fire. It was "Tosté" (1), a marsh bird, who cries along the river banks, who had fire. When they came closer to the fire, however, it disappeared.

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1. Another Chané told me that the frog had stolen fire from the black vulture.

SF/0
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Ce 539 /254 cont./

The frog promised to steal fire for them. He hopped to Tosté's campfire and, trembling with cold, sat down beside it in order to warm himself. From time to time he raked the coals closer to himself, as though to warm himself better, and, when no one was looking, he stuffed a little firebrand into his mouth and hopped away.

Having come back to the boy and the girl, he made a fire, and since then the Chané Indians have had fire. The sister and the brother, who had now grown up, married, and she became pregnant. They built themselves a hut. The girl had children. When these children grew up, they married one another. From their children came all the Chané. The chiefs are descended from the children of the oldest boy.

It may seem strange that I found two entirely different legends that deal with the same subject among the same people. This is to be explained by the fact that the Chané are a dispersed tribe which no longer has its own, independent culture. Ce

[177] The first version is probably their own, whereas they have borrowed the other from the Chiriguano. Domenico del Campana (2) Ec mentions that the latter have a river legend in which two children are saved in a clay vessel in a similar way.

539 [171] Ce [184] The Choroti and the Mataco say that the world was destroyed by fire, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti that it was destroyed by storm, and the Chiriguano and Chané on the Rio Itiyuro that it was destroyed by water.

The first-mentioned live in regions where there were great /255/ pampas fires, on the Rio Parapiti there are often violent storms, and the Chiriguano probably came from regions where great floods are common.

It is certain that these legends of world destruction are intimately connected with the character of the country in which they originated, as Ehrenreich (1), Im Thurn (2), and others have shown.

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2. Domenico del Campana: op. cit., p. 22.

1. Ehrenreich: op. cit., pp. 30-31.

Ec /255 cont./

539 [113] 2. Im Thurn: Among the Indians of Guyana.
London, 1883, op. cit., p. 375.

Ec [171] Ehrenreich says that such an anthropomorphic conception of the sun, as here in the first legend, is unusual in South America.

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Visits in Aguararenta (the Village of the Foxes).

539 775 Batirayu told me the following about the beliefs of the Chané Indians with regard to life in the world beyond and in the realm of the dead. Aguararenta (aguara = fox, tenta = village) is a village where the dead, aña, live. It lies in the east. At night the dead there have human form; during the day they go about as foxes, rats, and other animals, or they go into a tree trunk. Every night there are great drinking bouts in Aguararenta. All the Chané, children, women, and men, go there. Bewitchers (ipáyepótchi) and murderers also go to this village. No one is punished in the Chané realm of the dead.

Ce [787] The living have also visited Aguararenta and have told what they saw there. I shall give a couple of these stories here. They give us a good insight into the Indians' conceptions about the realm beyond.

The Girl Who Followed Her Husband to Aguararenta.

Ca [115] Told by a Chané Indian in Aguarati (white fox) on the Rio Parapiti.

A girl wanted to marry a man, but he died. She had been very fond of him. In the morning, /256/ on the day after his death, while it was still dark, she was standing in front of the house of her parents and was pounding in the mortar. Then somebody came and seized the pestle.

"Who are you?" she asked.

"It is I," he said. It was her dead husband. "Do you want to come along?"

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/256 cont./

539 "Yes," she said, for she loved him very much.

775 He now set out in the direction of the rising sun. His face was covered, so that no one would see it. She walked behind him. They walked through the forest, they walked over the pampas and again through the forest. During the day he slept and at night he was awake.

When the father found that his daughter was missing, he went to look for her. He followed her footprints. In front of these were the footprints of a fox. "Aña took my daughter," said the father. Finally he found her dead by the wayside. He brought her to life again, however, and took her home. When they crossed the pampas, they saw a fox roaming about. The next day she died. Her father wept. Then the white condor, "Ururuti," came and said he should not mourn. Ururuti took him on his back and flew with him to Aguararenta.

In Aguararenta people slept during the day and were awake at night. When the father got there, they were drinking maize beer. Ururuti took him to the house of his son-in-law. He spoke to his daughter, but she did not answer him. She did not look like a human being. Again he spoke to her, but he received no answer. He then went to Ururuti, who took him home. Neither he nor his wife mourned their dead daughter.

On the following day the father died.

Version 2. Told by Batirayu. There was a woman whose husband had died. During the night he came to her in the shape of a man and slept with her. He begged her to come with him to his village, Aguararenta. She followed him. When they were not far from the village, they heard singing /257/ and dancing. She went with her husband to the market place, where a great drinking bout was taking place. There she saw many dead people whom she knew. The dead, however, were afraid of her and stayed far away from her. She stayed there until it was morning. Then all the huts disappeared, and she found herself on a plain full of fox tracks. Her husband turned into a rat (angũya). She stayed there all day, sitting on the trunk of an algarroba. When it became dark, the people came again and a big drinking bout took place there.

Ce /257 cont./
539 In the morning the dead said: "chéahata húirasécuera (I shall go
775 around as a tree trunk), chéahata augúyara (I shall go around as a
rat), chéahata kárakárara (I shall go around as a vulture), chéahata
águarára (I shall go around as a fox), chéahata ándirára (I shall go
around as a bat)," etc. She returned home. Her husband said he
would come to get her. After three days she was dead. She had
C followed her husband to Aguararenta.

787 The Chiriguano chief Maringay told me of a man who had
775 fallen asleep by the wayside. During the night his dead wife
came to him, and he slept with her. When he awoke, she was gone.
C Ce He regarded as real what he had experienced in his sleep. Among
787 the Chané and Chiriguano the belief in a future life is based on
775 dreams, as among other Indians. In a dream they meet a dead
person, in a dream they visit the realm of the dead. It is incorrect,
however, to say that the Indians believe in a life after death.
He knows that there is such, for living persons have seen the dead,
have made love with them, have drunk maize beer with them,
have seen them change into foxes, rats, tree trunks, etc.

Legends about Spirits and Animals.

Ce
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"The dead are aña," said Batirayu. Among these there are a number who are tunpa (best translated as "great") and have superhuman powers.

The greatest among the añatunpas is Yamándutunpa. /258/
Others among the great ones are Mariutunpa and Tipaytunpa.
Ce Chiquéritunpa, who appears in a few of the legends given here,
[787] is the one who produces thunder. Chiquéritunpa howls at night when
there is going to be war. These añatunpa intervene in the lives
Ce of human beings; the sorcerers in particular are connected with
775 them. Thus, Batirayu told how the añatunpa came at night to
787 Tsuhuandico, a great sorcerer now deceased, and drank maize
756 beer with him. They told him when it would rain, when someone
would fall ill, whether there would be a crop failure, etc. Batirayu
also said that Angúya, a kinsman of Aringui, the last great chief,

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/258 cont./
756 used to offer the añatunpa tobacco when they were with Tsuhuandico.
[787] The añatunpa drank only very little maize beer. When they came,
[775] one did not see them, but heard what sounded like the clang of spurs.
These sorcerers have tremendous power; they can bewitch,
[754] for sickness and death are based on bewitchment. Among the
[761] Chanê, Tambâpui is the greatest sorcerer. He is the grandson of
Tsuhuandico and the son of Yapandây, who likewise was a great
"ipâye."

539 Yamândutunpa, Mariutunpa, and Tipaytunpa never appear in
776 the legends. The greatest role is played there by Aguaratunpa
[775] (the fox-god) and Tatutunpa (the armadillo-god). Aguaratunpa
has tembeta (see p. 63). They have human passions, and the
story of the fox-god in particular is a description of all kinds of
artifices and crimes. The armadillo-god is somewhat better
and also has a higher standing.

776 Vocapoy told me that he had known an old man who saw a
tunpa in the mountains. He was a handbreadth tall and well-dressed. Water ran from his body.

775 Batirayu believed stubbornly and firmly in the existence of
the aña and añatunpa, in their connection with the sorcerers, and
in their power. He was firmly convinced that Aguararenta exists.
776 /Pl. 20 appears here./ /259/ He was skeptical about the truth of the
539 legends concerning the adventures and experiences of Aguaratunpa
and Tatutunpa, which I shall give below.

[771] In the religion of these Indians, therefore, there is first of
all a grain of truth in which they believe. To this are added adventures and deeds of the spirits, which they relate at the campfires and which at least the more intelligent ones, the thinkers
among them, regard as legends.

I shall give these legends below.

776 The idea of a great, almighty god is foreign to the Chanê.
177 At present, of course, they all know something, directly or indirectly, about Christianity, as a result of which the idea of a
great god is beginning to come in. Vocapoy, who was no Christian,
once told me that the Chanê believed in a great god, Tunpa.

6: Nordenskiöld--110 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano

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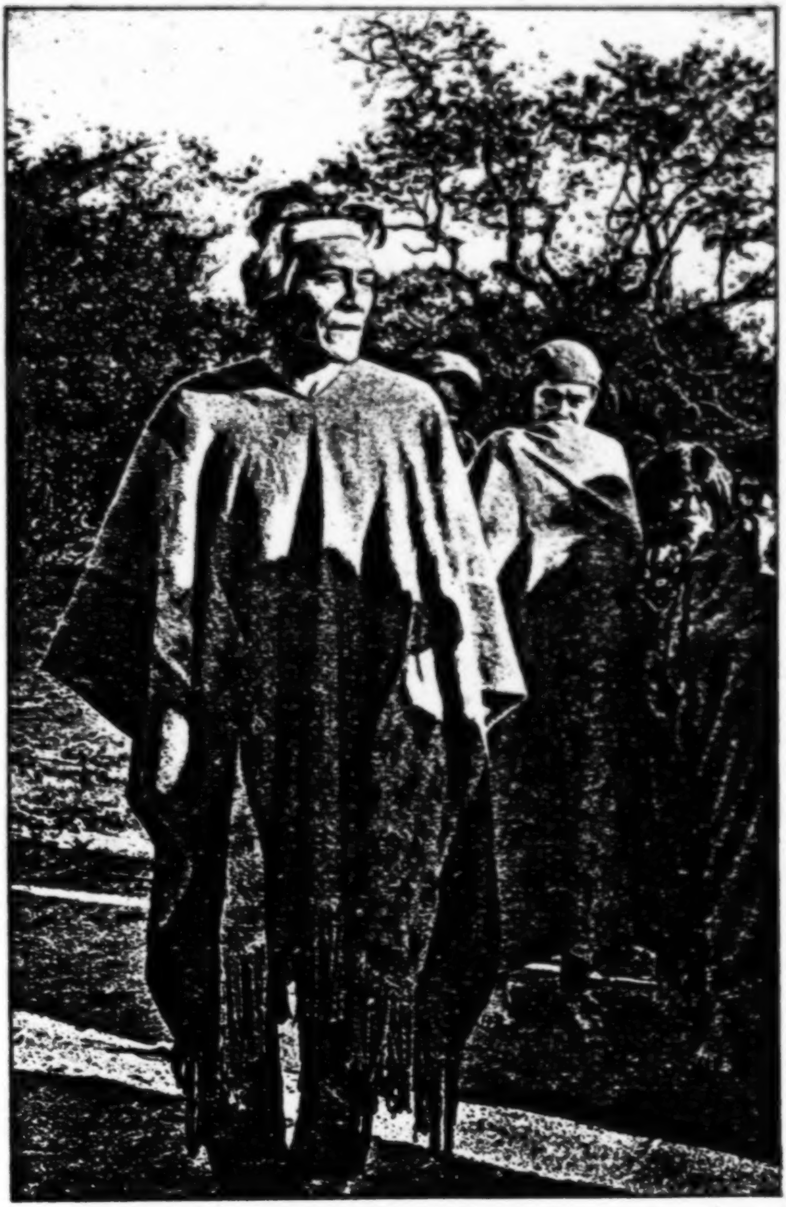

Plate 20. Storyteller.
Chané. Rio Parapiti.

/259 cont./

776 177 Batirayu said he does not believe in a god such as the Christians describe. He was surprised that the Christians oppressed the poor and committed so many bad deeds, since they taught that sinners were punished in hell. "How can one know what it is like in heaven, since no one who was there has come back to earth," said Batirayu.

"And so they say we shall be given wings," he said and laughed scornfully.

776 114 797 According to the missionaries, the Chané believe in a supreme being (1), Tunpahétte-vae, the real god. The name alone sounds suspicious. I am very skeptical about the assumption that this is original. When I talked to the missionaries about the religion of the Indians, I was astonished at their ignorance. They scorn the ideas of the Indians and do not regard it as worth the trouble to become more familiar with them. They never succeed in freeing themselves from the Catholic idea that the Indians, who, like us, are descended from Adam and Eve and to whom Saint /260/ Thomas preached, do not know anything about their "original faith."

776 539 Two of the *tunpa* who appear here in the legends have animal names, Aguaratunpa (fox-god) and Tatutunpa (armadillo-god). We find in the legends an intimate connection between human beings and animals.

[825] Batirayu said: "All animals were human beings."

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The Creation of the World, How the Fox-God, Aguaratunpa, Found the Algarroba Tree and How he Caught the White Condor, Ururuti.

[115] Told by two Chané Indians on the Rio Parapiti.

It is said that in the beginning there was a *tunpa*. He made the earth with the sky and all the stars, the sun, and the moon. It is said that this earth did not bear anything, that it was completely

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1. Cf. Domenico del Campana: *op. cit.*, p. 59.

/260 cont./
539 barren. Then Tunpa, in order to feed the poor, put all kinds of fruits into it, such as the caraguata and the mangára. It is said that there was an algarroba there, the mother of all trees. On this tree there were all kinds of fruits. This tree multiplied throughout the world. Thereupon Tunpa came, took the mother tree with him, and left the shoots here. It is said that Tunpa created our forefathers and also the forefathers of the whites. To the Ava (1) and Chané Tunpa gave a wooden spade and a long

1. Ava = Chiriguano.

carved stick called "carámpa," arrow and bow, a sheep, a goat, a hen, and a dog, so that they would breed all these animals and so that they would subsist with these tools. To the whites he gave guns, a horse, a mare, and a cow and all kinds of iron tools, so that they would work with these (2).

[171] 2. This is undoubtedly a modern addition to the legend. We find the same thing in a Mataco legend given here.

It is said that the little viscacha (3), "Tacumbo- /261/ cumba,"

3. Lagostomus.

watches over these trees which remained from the mother tree. She watched over these trees very well; she did not permit a single seed to be carried away. She had tasted the blossoms, but found them bitter until they yielded fruit. When they were ripe, she sowed the seeds. When these had again ripened, she sowed them again. In the following year they had all yielded ripe fruit.

Aguaratunpa came to the house of Tacumbocumba. The latter was an old woman. She offered Aguaratunpa some of these fruits which she had watched over, and he found them very good. He asked what they were called. She replied that these fruits are called "mä."

/261 cont./

539 When she offered him the fruits, she sat down next to Aguaratunpa, so that he would not take along a single seed kernel. Aguaratunpa hid one of the smallest seeds in a hollow tooth. When he had finished eating, the old woman handed him water to rinse out his mouth, so that not a single seed would remain behind. She examined Aguaratunpa's mouth with her fingers, but could not find a single kernel. Aguaratunpa again asked the woman what the tree was called and took his leave. Saying the name of the tree, he went on his way. Not far from there Aguaratunpa fell, forgot the name of the tree, and went back to the old woman to ask. Thereupon he set out on his way. Again he fell, again he forgot the name, and again he went back to the old woman to ask. Then she said: "You took some seed along," and so she examined his mouth once more, but could not find anything. Then Aguaratunpa went on until he came to an open plain. There he sowed the algarroba seed that he had with him. Then he roamed about widely. After a few years he came back and found a large algarroba plant already. Again he roamed about widely. When he came back, the algarroba was in bloom. He took a blossom and chewed it. It was bitter. Again Aguaratunpa roamed the earth. When he came back to his algarroba, he found it full of ripe fruit. He picked up one /262/ that had dropped on the ground, and he tasted it. It was sweet and good. He now looked for someone who would guard the tree for him. First he asked a beetle, "Nyấkira," but it did not want to. Then he asked "Hũiran," a small black bird, but it did not want to either. Then he asked another beetle, "Tikitikiru" (1), and it promised him that it would

1. Probably a Carambycide.

guard the tree. "If someone comes who wants to steal your algarroba fruit, I shall sing: "Tikitikiru, tikitikiru, ko mã séramấtata, tiki, tiki," it said. Aguaratunpa had not gone far when he heard: "Tikitikiru, tikitikiru, ko mã séramấtata, tiki, tiki." Aguaratunpa hastened back. "The flea (Tuấta), the tick (Yatếu), and the leaf-cutting ant (Isấu) were here, and they stole

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/262 cont./

539 fruit from your algarroba," said Tikitikiru. The tick had a large carrying net with him for carrying the fruit, and the leaf-cutting ant climbed up the tree to bite it off. Aguaratunpa hurried after them. First he caught up with the ant. He stepped on its middle. That is why all ants are so narrow around the waist. Then he picked up the tick and stepped directly on it, so that it became quite flat. Finally he took the flea and stepped on it, but he slipped so that he crushed it sideways. That is why all fleas are small and pinched together. Tikitikiru now left the algarroba to Aguaratunpa to guard himself. He hung up his hammock and lay down to rest. On a branch he saw one more fruit which the thieves had left behind. Aguaratunpa now called the wind, which shook the branch on which the algarroba fruit was hanging, so that it fell down. The fruit fell directly into Aguaratunpa's eye. The fox-god was now dead.

Soon all the vultures came to pick at Aguaratunpa. They sent the hummingbird "Chinu," in order to fetch their great chief, the white condor, Ururuti, so that he would eat of Aguaratunpa.

/263/ "Watch out, he is not dead, he is only playing dead in order to catch our great chief," said one of the vultures, "Kara-kara."

"Certainly he is dead," said the fly "Mbéru" and crawled in under the tail of the fox-god and out from a nostril, in through the other one and thus out again under the tail.

"He is not dead," said Kara-kara.

"He is dead," said the fly and laid eggs in Aguaratunpa's eyes, so that they were full of worms. When the white condor came, he approached Aguaratunpa in order to eat.

"Watch out, he is not dead," said the vulture.

"He is dead," said the fly and again crawled in under Aguaratunpa's tail and out through the one nostril, in through the other one and then out again under the tail.

The white condor now started eating Aguaratunpa. The latter now leaped up, took him captive, and bound him with a chain of silver.

"I will give you a herd of horses if you grant me my freedom, said the white condor.

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/263 cont./

"I have so many horses that I do not need any more," said Aguaratunpa.

"I will give you large fields if you grant me my freedom," said the white condor.

"I have so many fields that I do not need any more," said Aguaratunpa.

"I will give you my two daughters as wives and a house in which you can live, if you grant me my freedom," said the white condor.

"I do not need your daughters, for I have wives in all the villages," said Aguaratunpa.

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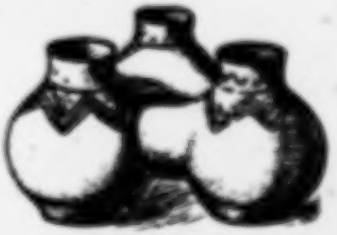

Fig. 127. Clay vessels.
Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/3.

C.
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"I will fill a whole house with silver bowls, 'cagua,' and give it to you, if you grant me my freedom," said the white condor.

/264/ "I have as much silver as I need," said Aguaratunpa, "and I caught you in order to kill you. But if you can make me a present of the white rubber ball, 'toki,' so that I can play with it, I shall give you your freedom," said Aguaratunpa.

Tied to a long silver chain, Ururuti flew to fetch the white rubber ball. When Aguaratunpa received it, he gave the white condor his freedom. The ostrich, "Yñndu," and the bat, "Andira," played ball. One would throw the ball, catch it with his head, and hit it toward the other one, who in turn caught it with his head and hit it back (cf. p. 45). When the ball was flying through the air, the white condor caught it and disappeared. Aguaratunpa now sent a bird, "Tavatan," to fetch the black rubber ball, and the whole village played. Aguaratunpa played with the ostrich. In the middle

539 /264 cont./
of the game he substituted a stone for the ball and threw it. The ostrich caught it with his head and fell down dead. When he came to life again, he had a flattened head, as do all ostriches now. The bat disappeared with the black rubber ball.

Now the story is over.

Tatutumpa's and Aguaratumpa's Marriage.

[115] Legend told by the Chané Indian Agilera on the Rio Parapiti.

It is said that there was once a great chief, Chiquéri, and there were also Tatutumpa and Aguaratumpa. They all lived far, far away from here. The great chief lived farthest of all. He had Tatutumpa come, in order to give him his daughter as a wife. Tatutumpa knew many tricks, and Aguaratumpa also knew many tricks.

/265/ Tatutumpa started on his way. He went very slowly and waited at many places. Where he made fire, tall grass grew. Two or three days after Tatutumpa had left his house, Aguaratumpa came and asked where Tatutumpa had gone. He was told that Tatutumpa had gone to the great chief. Aguaratumpa now followed him and met him not far from there. Before they arrived, they found a plant called "ihuahuaty" (1) by the wayside. Aguaratumpa told Tatutumpa he should break off the fruits so that they could eat them. He went into the forest under the plant. Before Tatutumpa could touch even one of the fruits, Aguaratumpa shook the plant so that all the fruits fell on Tatutumpa. The latter, who was young and handsome, now became one-eyed and old. and Aguaratumpa was the younger and handsomer of the two.

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1. Cf. p. 31 /omitted in the translation/, it is said there that, according to Herrmann, the Ashluslay know how to make a poisonous fruit, called ihuahuaty by the Chiriguano, edible by boiling it.

/285 cont./

539 They now continued on their way to the great chief. Tatutumpa had a necklace which, before they arrived, Aguaratumpa had coaxed from him.

The great chief thought that Tatutumpa, who was old and ugly, was Aguaratumpa, and the latter Tatutumpa. He gave the former his most beautiful daughter as a wife, and to the latter he gave his ugliest one, who was also one-eyed, as he was.

Aguaratumpa began to work in order to clear the field and sow. While he worked, he tied up his long hair. When he came from work, he was quite dirty. Tatutumpa did nothing. He lay all day beside his wife and played on a round wooden pipe (Fig. 80). When his mother-in-law saw that he was not working, she said: "This man does not think of his family at all."

When he heard this and knew that Aguaratumpa had already worked a great deal, he asked his wife whether her father did not have an old field which he could cultivate. The mother-in-law then said to her daughter: "Why does that man ask /286/ for a field, he who is so lazy. It would be better if Aguaratumpa, who works, asked for one."

Tatutumpa, with his stick and his wife, went to the old field of the chief. He went out into the large, uncultivated field, dug up a little earth, picked up a clump of earth, and threw it into the air. The clump of earth fell to the ground and crumbled into many pieces. "This earth is no good," he said, and he asked his wife if there were not a large plain somewhere that he could cultivate. She said there was a large plain. They betook themselves there and went out into the middle of the plain. Tatutumpa dug up a little earth, again threw a clump of earth into the air; this did not break in two, but fell down whole. He said to his wife that this earth would be very good to cultivate. They went home.

The next morning old Tatutumpa set out with his spade for the plain where he had dug a little, and he stuck it into the ground. In a very short time the entire big plain was cleared by the spade alone. Tatutumpa then called the wind, which came with great strength and blew away all the worthless stuff. Only the very finest remained standing. Thereupon he called the whirlwind,

/286 cont./

539 which swept the field entirely clean. Tatutunpa asked the parrots for seed, but they came with useless seed kernels which were all broken in two. When he saw that these seeds were worthless, he asked the ducks and pigeons and the very tiny pigeons to come with all kinds of seeds, and this they did. They even did the sowing themselves. When the sowing was finished, Tatutunpa set out for home on the path that led to his house. He had not gone far when he turned around in order to look at his field. He saw that the plants were already starting to sprout. Again he went a short distance and again turned around to look at his field. The plants were already big. Again he went on and again he turned around. Then he found his field already in bloom. Near his house /287/ Tatutunpa turned around again to look at his field and found that everything that he had sowed was already bearing ripe fruit.

For Aguaratunpa, who had worked so industriously, nothing was yet ripe or in bloom.

The next day Tatutunpa said to his wife: "Let us go to look at our field." They went to the field and the wife saw that all the fruits were ripe. Tatutunpa bade her light a fire in order to roast maize and all the other produce. He told her she should dig out an ear of maize, two beans, and a squash, but nothing more. Not even this were they able to eat up.

After that they went home and told the old woman that she should come with them and harvest everything she wished to eat. The old woman did not believe them, but thought they had been stealing. She could not believe that they had anything to harvest, since they had not worked. "I would rather go to my other daughter, who has worked hard," said the old woman.

Aguaratunpa now set out for Tatutunpa's field and stole squash which he brought to his own planting. With sticks and thorns he fastened the squash to the half-grown squash stalks. At dusk he returned home and told his wife that she should ask her mother to harvest squash in his field. The daughter went to her mother and said: "Let us go to the field to gather squash." Delighted, the

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/267 cont./

539 old woman set out, for she had seen how much they worked and she believed her daughter. They went, but did not find any more squash than they were able to gather in a winnow.

The next day Tatutunpa's wife again asked her mother to come with her to the field. The old woman did not believe her at all, but when the old man, her husband, saw that they were so stubborn, he ordered her to go. Angrily the old woman /268/ set out. Tatutunpa walked in front of her, playing on his pipe. When they came to the field, the old woman saw that it was full of all kinds of produce, maize, squash, beans, and calabashes. The old woman became truly delighted; she could scarcely restrain her joy.

When they came to the ridge of the field, she saw a huge calabash and told her daughter that she wanted this for herself. While they were talking, the calabash fell on the old woman; she fell down and could scarcely move because of the heavy calabash pressing on her. The daughter came to help her and tried to lift the calabash, but she could not. She called her husband to come and help her. He, however, stayed away a long time, and it was only when the old woman was near death that he came, lifted up the calabash, and fastened it to its old place. He lifted up the half-dead old woman.

After a while, when she had recovered, they again looked at the field. The old woman wanted to break off an ear of maize. Tatutunpa told her she should take care of his field and break off only the ear. Then she harvested two ears of maize and two of all the other products, without destroying anything. Everything she had harvested immediately put forth ripe fruits again. Laden with produce, she went home. She told her husband that Tatutunpa already had a large field. "So that is Tatutunpa whom we sent for," said the old man. "Aguaratunpa deceived us."

The next day Tatutunpa said to his wife: "Let us go to our field." They went there. He dug a hole in which he made a fire. When the hole was really warm, really red, he took a very large calabash and crawled into it. He asked his wife to plug up the calabash, place it in the warm pit, and to turn over the calabash when he whistled, so that he could get out. The woman

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/268 cont./

539 did as he had said. When he whistled, she turned the calabash over and Tatutunpa came /269/ out, handsome and young, adorned with all his old ornaments.

After a while Tatutunpa again warmed the pit, and his wife crawled into the calabash. He covered it and threw it into the pit. When she whistled, he turned the calabash over. She came out of it young and beautiful.

They returned home and took a little quebracho stick along, in order to make fire with it. When they reached home, the old woman was busy brewing maize beer.

"It is going to be very cold during the night and therefore I brought this little stick along, so we would have something to warm ourselves with," said Tatutunpa. Aguaratunpa had taken home a great deal of "tartago" wood, but it did not last the whole night. In the middle of the night the wood was used up. He went to the hearth of his mother-in-law, who was cooking maize beer. When the old woman saw that a fox was creeping up to her fire, she stuck a piece of wood in Aguaratunpa's behind. With the wood in his behind, he ran away, forever changed into a fox.

The Origin of Work.

[115]

Told by the Chané Indian Batirayu.

Tatutunpa had a magic spade. If one set it in the field at night, the field was completely dug up in the morning. One day Aguaratunpa, in the company of his two brothers, came to Tatutunpa. "Let's play for your spade," he said. "When lightning flashes, let's look into the lightning, and the one who does not blink will win the spade." Tatutunpa agreed to this.

Aguaratunpa now borrowed the eyes of the grasshopper "Tu-ku," who has no eyelids; Tatutunpa and Aguaratunpa sat down and stared at the sky. When lightning flashed, Tatutunpa blinked, but not Aguaratunpa, who had the eyes of the grasshopper. He won the spade. When he departed, however, he did not take the

/269 cont./

spade /270/ that dug by itself, but an ordinary wood spade.

"If I take the spade with the hollow handle, even sluggards can grow maize, but with the one here one has to work to provide maize for his family," said Aguaratunpa to his brothers.

Aguaratunpa gave the borrowed eyes back to the grasshopper.

How Aguaratunpa Sent His Brother to the Vault of Heaven.

Told by the Chané Indian Batirayu.

Aguaratunpa lived with his brother. He had two little parrots in a basket. One day they flew to a field where they ate maize. When they came home, one of them had maize meal around its beak. "Where did you get that?" asked Aguaratunpa. "From a field far back yonder where the sun sets," said the parrots.

The next day Aguaratunpa sent the parrots away. He followec them to where they flew. When he reached there, he broke off some maize. Then the owner of the field came and saw that someone had stolen maize. Aguaratunpa hid, but the owner found him, for when he tried to break off the maize, he cut his hands and feet and left behind traces of blood everywhere.

The owner said to Aguaratunpa: "Why did you steal my maize, if you had asked me for it, I would have given it to you." He broke off many ears of maize and loaded them on Aguaratunpa, who brought them home. He put them beside the door.

When he woke up the next morning, the little pile had turned into a big one which reached to the roof.

Aguaratunpa's brother asked him where he had obtained the maize. "It is far away," said Aguaratunpa. "There is no road, and you cannot find your way there."

/271/ Nevertheless, the brother set out and came to the field where he found "anday" (1), from which he ate. This had

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1. Squash of a tasty variety.

SF 10
Chane SF 8

Ce 539

/271 cont./
been poisoned, and he died. Aguaratunpa found him dead. He said he wanted to bring him to life again. Aguaratunpa took a plant, "ihuahuasu." With this he beat him. He leaped over him, first directly over his body, then from head to tail.

The brother came to life again and said: "I slept a long time." -- "You did not sleep, you were dead," said Aguaratunpa. The latter sent his brother to heaven (2). When it thunders,

2. Ara = vault of heaven, universe.

Aguaratunpa's brother is going for a walk.

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539
[115]

About the Son of Tatutunpa and How He Rescued His Mother.

Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambási on the Rio Grande.

In a house there was a girl, Inómu, who had never had a husband. In front of the house there was a great drinking bout. Aguaratunpa, Tatutunpa, and Dyori were there. The parents of the girl took her along and set her on the ground where people were busy drinking maize beer. Aguaratunpa thought that Inómu was very pretty. Tatutunpa thought so too. "I shall make the girl pregnant," he said and started to dig. Aguaratunpa stood in front. Tatutunpa dug himself into the earth and up under the girl (3).

3. Modified.

When Tatutunpa was finished, he crawled out again and told Aguaratunpa what he had done.

"I want to try too," said Aguaratunpa and crawled into the passageway. He had not gone far when he got stuck. Tatutunpa seized him by the tail and pulled him out.

/272/

539 When the girl reached home, a bird, "Araqua" /jacu/, cried that she was pregnant. The next day she grew big. She was in an advanced state of pregnancy. Her mother was provoked. She said she wanted to go far away to the father and give birth. Inómu went to the cave of Tatutunpa and dropped the child in it, without giving it milk. The child cried daily, and the mother looked after it, but when she came, it crawled into the cave. One day "Yahuête" came, the jaguar with two heads, one of which was dry, tore her eyes out, and led her away alive.

The grandfather now went out to catch little Tatutunpa by placing in front of the cave a net, in which he was caught. He led him home. There he grew rapidly and began to become big. He was brought up on honey. One day little Tatutunpa demanded bow and arrow. His grandfather made him an arrow with a blunt point of wax. With that he went out and hunted. When he hit the trunk, all the pigeons fell down dead. There was a great quantity. When Tatutunpa came home, his grandfather asked him how he was able to kill so many pigeons, and then he told how it happened. In the same way he killed many birds. One day he saw five araqua birds on a tree. Tatutunpa shot at the tree, but only four fell down. The fifth said: "You would do better to look for your mother than to shoot birds."

When Tatutunpa reached home, he asked his grandfather to make him a club out of "huirapucu" (1). He hit it against a thick tree trunk, but was obliged to hit twice in order to get the trunk off. Tatutunpa told his grandfather it was worthless and demanded a club made of "urundey" (2). He hit it against a thick tree trunk and struck off the trunk with one blow. "This one is good," said Tatutunpa.

737] 1. Huirapucu is a soft wood (Salix Humboldtiana).

2. "Urundey" is red quebracho or something similar.

/273/

539 Accompanied by Dyori, Tatutunpa set out on his way. Along the way he killed a tapir. Dyori (1) divided it into four parts and devoured it. He even licked the blood from the ground.

Tatutunpa found his mother blind in the woods. She begged him to kill the jaguars who were keeping her captive. "They come to the watering place in order to drink," she said.

Tatutunpa made himself a little shelter in which he hid. Dyori hid behind him. First came "Embaracaya" (2) with her booty. With one blow Tatutunpa shattered her head and threw her and her booty to Dyori, who devoured everything. In the same way he killed "Yahuapinta" (3) and the other felines. He threw them to Dyori, who devoured them all. Finally there came Yahuête, who had two heads. He asked Inómu for water. Yahuête was carrying a tapir that he had killed. Inómu directed him to the watering place.

"No, give me water here, there is someone hiding at the spring," said Yahuête.

"No, there is no one there, and how should I, I who am blind, be able to fetch water, I would fall," said Inómu.

Yahuête went to the drinking place. When he reached there, Tatutunpa hurled his club, in order to kill him, but struck only the dried head, and Yahuête leaped away. Tatutunpa followed him. When Yahuête saw that he was being pursued, he hid under the "tiru" (women's attire mentioned on p. 52) of the moon.

"Where is Yahuête?" asked Tatutunpa.

"I do not know," answered the woman (that is, the moon). That was the first lie.

[171] 1. Dyori is always described as the insatiable one. He corresponds to Móconomóco in the legends of the Mojo.

2. A large wildcat.

[136] 3. Puma (Felix concolor).

SF/0
Chane SF8

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539

/273 cont./

"He is hidden under your 'tiru,'" said Tatutunpa and went on.

The moon called after him. "Yahuête is devouring me."

/274/ Tatutunpa went back to help her. She then said it was not true. Tatutunpa went on again. She now called again: "Yahuête is devouring me." When Tatutunpa came back, she said it was not true. Tatutunpa went on again. Again the moon cried that Yahuête wanted to devour her. But Tatutunpa did not go back again. Now Yahuête was really on the point of devouring her.

When Tatutunpa returned to his mother, he said he would see to it that she would be able to see again. He made eyes out of pigeon droppings and clay and set them in her empty eye sockets. Inómu rubbed her eyes, opened them, and was able to see again. Tatutunpa now led his mother home.

Ce
539
[114]

Batirayu told me the same legend with a long introduction which is missing in Yambási's story. I shall give this introduction here.

Ce
[071]

Once there was a great drinking bout. Many birds were gathered together there. The chief ordered Aguaratunpa to fetch a girl, Inómu, who was in a neighboring village, so that she might also drink with them. Aguaratunpa departed. When he came to the house of the girl, he met her father.

"Good day, Uncle," said Aguaratunpa.

"Sit down," said the father.

"No, I have come to fetch my niece," said Aguaratunpa. He now asked whether the girl would go with him, which she agreed to do. The girl made herself pretty, put on her necklace, dressed herself in her best "tiru," and followed Aguaratunpa.

When they had gone part way, the girl said: "Why should I go with you who are so ugly," and so she turned back. When Aguaratunpa arrived, the chief asked how it had gone. He now told how the girl had turned back.

"Urapua" (the black vulture) offered to fetch the girl. Urapua set out. When he came to the house of the girl, he said:

/275/ "Good day, Uncle."

"Sit down," said the father.

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/275 cont./

539 "No, I have come to fetch my niece, I want her to help me drink maize beer," said Urapua. He asked the girl whether she would come along. She agreed and made ready. When they had gone half way, the girl said: "Why should I go with you who are so ugly." She returned home.

When Urapua arrived, the chief asked him how he had fared. He said that the girl had turned back.

"Tiu" offered to go. When he came to the house of the girl, he said:

"Good day, Uncle."

"Sit down," said the father.

"No, I have come to fetch my niece, I want her to help me drink maize beer," said Tiu. He asked the girl whether she would come along. When they had gone a good part of the way, the girl said: "Why should I go with you who are so ugly," and so she went home again.

Then "Choe" offered to go. When he arrived, he went directly to the girl and asked her whether she would come with him and help him drink maize beer. The girl gave him a calabash bowl of maize beer and was willing to follow him. They departed. When they were quite near the village where there was a great drinking bout, the girl said she did not want to go with him, his legs were so black, and she turned back.

When he arrived, the chief asked him how he had fared. He said that the girl had turned back. All the other birds tried, but the girl did not want to go with any of them. Finally "Churincui" went.

"Watch out," said the chief, "he will surely get the girl to go with him." Churincui went directly to the girl and asked her whether she would go with him and help him /276/ drink maize beer. The girl was willing and followed him there and sat down with the other women.

Aguaratunpa walked around angrily.

The chief asked whether anyone could sing. Aguaratunpa dressed in his "tirucumbai" (Fig. 81) and prepared to sing, but he could do nothing but "pũhuaté, pũhuaté." Now Urapau came forth and wanted to sing, but he could only say "hú, hú."

SF10
Chane SF8

Ce
539

/276 cont./

Then the chief asked "Hū́iratucū́hua" to sing and he sang:

"Huaté pū́huatḗkos rā́rā́sḗ mā́nura lū́huaya chū́shico ti, ti, ti, ti..."

There was a man there who was at odds with his brother and all the other birds, who did not take part in the drinking bout, but went about and hunted.

Many parrots were sitting on a tree. Among these was a white parrot. "That one I want to catch," he said, and he tried to catch it with a noose on a rod, but he did not succeed. He now aimed with his bow at the parrot. The latter started to talk and said: "Why do you want to kill me?"

The parrot now taught him how he should sing and told him that when he came into the midst of those who were drinking he should stretch his arm up over his head.

He now walked around those who were drinking and sang. Then he went into their midst and stretched his arm up. When he did this, those who were standing changed into birds and those who were sitting changed into stones, except Inómu, Tatutunpa, Aguaratunpa, and Teyuhuasu.

Tatutunpa, Aguaratunpa, and Teyuhuasa did not sit with the others, but stood near by. Tatutunpa said to Aguaratunpa:

"You will see, I shall make the girl pregnant (1). /277/

1. Modified.

C
Ce
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171

When she turns her body, it will have happened." He now dug a hole in the earth under the girl...

The continuation of Batirayu's story is almost identical with the one by Yambā́si.

In its basic characteristics this legend seems to me to be genuinely Indian. Nevertheless there are elements in it which seem to be borrowed from the whites, namely the story of the lies of the moon. These do not occur in Batirayu's version of the story. It also reminds me very much of the boy who used to call for help when there was no danger present. When finally the wolves were devouring him, no one paid any attention to him, -- a legend which is well known in Europe and which I heard as a child in Sweden.

Ee
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/277 cont./

Part of this legend reminds one very much of a legend from the Yuracáre Indians given by D'Orbigny (1). There "Tiri," who, in order to avenge his mother, kills all the felines except the jaguar with the four eyes, who takes refuge with the moon, corresponds to Tatutunpa. In former times the Chiriguano and Chané were undoubtedly in touch with the Yuracáre Indians. When the whites conquered the land around Santa Cruz de la Sierra, the Chiriguano moved south and the Yuracáre to the north. On my last journey I also visited the Yuracáre Indians, whom I shall describe later in another book.

Ee
174
177

Ee
[113]

1. D'Orbigny. Voyage dans l'Amérique Méridionale /Journey in South America/. Vol. 3, 1. Paris, 1834, p. 212.

Ce
539

The Man Who Married the Daughter of the Thunder God, Chiqueritunpa.

Ce
[115]

Told by the Chané Chief Bóyra.

In olden times there were once three poor men who had no relatives. They were very hungry. Two of them went forth to look for something to eat. First they came into a large forest through which went a path. /278/ After three days they came to a great plain. In the middle of the plain there was a house. They walked around the house, but found no entrance. Finally, however, a woman came out; it was Chiquéritunpa's sister. She bade them come in. "We are dirty," they said and did not want to go in. She brought maize beer to one of them. He drained four calabash bowls of maize beer. She brought the other one maize beer. He, too, drained four calabash bowls of maize beer. "Go now and bathe," she said, "and wash your heads." She gave them the root of the "yúag" (1).

Ce
[137]

1. = mistol /Zizyphus mistol Griseb./.

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/278 cont./

539 When they had bathed and washed themselves, they came back. She gave them urucú for painting themselves. "Go now and rest. Afterwards you shall fetch wood," she said and gave them an ax. They looked everywhere on the plain, but found no wood. "Did you not find any wood?" asked the woman.

"No," they said.

"Did you not see an old man there? He has wood. Give him a blow with the ax," said the woman.

They went back to the plain to look for wood. There they found the old man, but they were ashamed to give him a blow with the ax, and went back to the woman.

"Did you meet the old one?" she said.

"Yes," they answered, "but we were ashamed to kill him."

"Strike the old one, he is wood!" said the woman.

They went back to the plain and found him. They gave him a blow with the ax, and he changed into wood which they carried to the room. The woman cooked. Then she spun thread.

"Why did you come here?" she said.

"We were looking for a mother for ourselves. There were three of us, but we left one behind," they said.

"Why did you not take him along?" said the woman.

/279/ She let the men bathe. They bathed and the woman bathed too. They saw that she was a pretty woman.

"Here you shall make a hut and a trap and catch pigeons! When the pigeons come, they will turn into women. When they are bathing, you shall take their clothes and run!" said the woman. A mass of pigeons came and settled on the trees around the swamp. Among them was their great chief. The pigeons flew to the shore and turned into women and took their clothes (tiru) off. The men crept up; each of them took three garments and ran away. The women ran after them. /Fig. 128 appears here./ One of them threw two garments away and came into the house with one garment and one of the women. The other ran away with all three garments. The women caught up with him and thrashed him soundly. The one who had come with one garment came into the house with his wife.

Ce
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/279 cont./

"Lie down and sleep!" said the sister of Chiquéritunpa.

The man lay down to sleep with his wife, who was the daughter of Chiquéritunpa. They slept together all day and in the evening she gave birth. The next day Chiquéritunpa came. He wanted to beat his daughter. He sent for a horse, a donkey, and a mare, in order to take his daughter and his son-in-law home. After they had eaten, they rode away.

The man who had been thrashed by the women wept. "Do not weep so much," said the sister of Chiquéritunpa. When they had ridden a short distance, they met a Christian who was working.

"What kind of work are you planning?" asked the man. "I /280/ want to sow mandioca and maize. I want to live here and I want to bring a woman here," said the Christian.

They rode on and met another Christian. "What kind of work are you planning?" asked the man. In a bad humor, the Christian replied: "I want to sow hills with thorny bushes here."

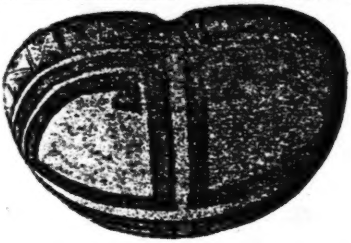

Fig. 128. Calabash bowl. Chiriguano. Itatenbia. 1/4.

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[415]
[531]

They continued their journey and met another Christian who was busy felling trees. "What kind of work are you planning?" asked the man. "I am chopping down poles for fencing for the animals, for I want to have livestock here. I am bringing everything here, I shall get myself clothing," said the Christian.

They rode on and met another Christian. "What kind of work are you planning?" asked the man. In a bad humor, the Christian answered: "I am working to harvest stones."

They rode on and met another Christian, who was doing carpentry work. "What are you doing here?" they asked. "I want to build myself a house where I shall have clothing and all sorts of other things," answered the Christian.

/280 cont./

They rode on and met another Christian. "What are you working at?" asked the man. In a bad humor, the Christian replied: "I want to sow chuchio (1) here, so that no one can pass."

1. See p. 18.

When they were near the house of Chiquéritunpa, his daughter said to her husband: "I shall dismount first with the boy, who can walk already. Then you shall dismount, and if you sit down on the bench you must not be surprised if it moves. If the house moves, you must not be surprised. You shall not greet my mother or my brother. You shall greet only my father."

When they arrived, she dismounted first and entered. She was followed by the boy, who was already able to walk. Last of all, the /281/ man got down from the horse. When he got down from the horse, it turned into a heap of bones. He went in and sat on a stool. It moved because it was a large snake. He acted as though he had not noticed anything. The house moved too, but he acted as though he were paying no attention to it. First his mother-in-law came and greeted him, but he did not respond to her greeting. Then his brother-in-law came and greeted him, but he did not respond to his greeting either. The brother-in-law proposed that they play, but he did not answer him.

"Tonight you shall not sleep with me. I shall sleep in a hammock, my /Fig. 129 appears here/ son in one, and you in a third," said Chiquéritunpa's sister to her husband. "Tomorrow you shall play with my brother," she said. They now lay down to sleep.

The next day the rooster cried early: "Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ!" When the first Christian whom they had met came to his field, he found it full of maize and mandioca and, in addition, a hut and a pretty wife. The second Christian,. who had answered that he wanted to sow hills with thorny bushes, found his field changed into such. The third Christian found his fence for the animals already finished and full of fine livestock. The one who had replied he wanted to sow stones found his field full of stones. The one who had been doing carpentry in order to build himself

SF10
Chane SF8

/281 cont./

Ce
539 a house found it already finished and full of clothing. The one who had answered in a bad humor that he wanted to sow chuchio found his field turned into thick brush through which no one could pass.

Chiquéritunpa's son proposed a game to his brother-in-law. "What kind of a game?" he asked. "Let's move the house," /282/ said Chiquéritunpa's son and shifted it with one arm. With all his strength the man moved the house away. "Now let's bring the horse back to life," said Chiquéritunpa's son and lifted up the legs of the horse on which the man had come. It turned into a very fat horse with a mouth that flashed fire. This, too, the man imitated.

The next day the man proposed a game to his brother-in-law, Chiquéritunpa's son. "What shall we play?" he said. "Let's take the sun down," said the man. With a long switch of chuchio he took the sun down. It became so warm that both Chiquéritunpa and his son ran away. The next day the man became chief.

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[415]
[531]

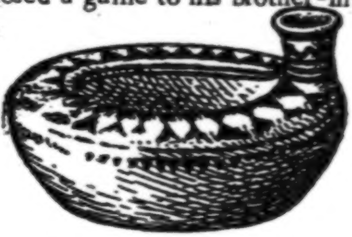

Fig. 129. Clay vessel. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/5.

The one who had been thrashed by the girls whose clothes he had stolen stayed with the sister of Chiquéritunpa. One day she told him he should go to a large lake. There he should dive in and bring up a handful of sand. This sand he should place in the house. He went to the lake, dived in, and brought up a handful of sand which he placed in the house. The next day the sister of Chiquéritunpa said: "Go look at what has become of the sand!" In place of the sand he found a pretty woman. "She shall be your wife," said Chiquéritunpa's sister.

/282 cont./

539 During the day he used to bathe with her in the lake. There he played with her, caressed her, and while bathing they squirted water at each other.

"Do not bathe with her so much in the lake. Remember that she is merely made of sand," said Chiquéritunpa's sister.

He did not listen to her, but played with her and fondled her down by the shore of the lake. One day, while he was playing with her, she grew thinner and thinner, until finally she had turned into a heap of sand. Weeping, the man went to the sister of Chiquéritunpa. Hayma opama! (And there was no more).

[177] This legend, as we see, is not free of European /283/ elements. In its principal features, however, it is purely Indian. None of the legends given here by me seems to me as imaginative as this one.

"Choihuihui's" Abduction of a Woman

Told by the Chané chief Bóyra.

In olden times there was once a great drinking bout. Aguaratunpa, Tatutunpa, Teyuhuasu, Inómu (1), Choihuihui (2), and many others were there. Aguaratunpa had gone to fetch Inómu. She stayed four days and drank with them. Finally her mother came; she was very angry because she had stayed away so long. She changed all who were there into birds and took Inómu home with her. Only Aguaratunpa, Tatutunpa, and Choihuihui remained there. Tatutunpa went home. Aguaratunpa, who had no permanent dwelling, roamed about and cheated people. Choihuihui set out on his way. He came to a house. A married woman lived there with her daughter. He greeted her. She offered him maize beer and he drank. Then he said farewell and left. Transformed into a choihuihui, however, he remained quite

1. Inómu's story has been told above.

2. A bird.

/283 cont./

near in order to spy. After a while the husband of the woman came home. He took her along and they went to the field, she in order to harvest, he in order to dig. When they arrived there, they lighted a fire. He went off to dig; she stayed beside the fire with her little daughter and roasted maize. Choihuihui had followed them. He remained nearby. After a while the woman went off to relieve herself. When she went into the forest, Choihuihui embraced her. Transformed into a bird, he flew off with her.

When her mother did not come back, the girl began to weep. When the father heard this, he went there. He /284/ called his wife, but no one heard him. He looked for her and found Choihuihui's and her tracks. In vain he tried to follow them. After he had searched for a long time, he looked up the brothers of his wife, so that they might help him search. They searched, but found no one. The brothers believed the man had killed his wife out of jealousy. When they passed by a large tree, they saw in the crown the nest of a "tuyuyu" (1). The brothers told the man he should catch the birds in order to comfort his child. Since the tree had a high, straight trunk, they made a ladder, and the man climbed up. When he got to the crown of the tree, the brothers removed the ladder, so that the man could not come down. "You shall sit and starve to death there because you killed your wife," they said. The man started to weep. Finally he went to sleep, leaning against the trunk.

When he awoke, he was sitting in a hut. Beside him sat two pretty women. They asked him how he had got there. He now told how a man had come to his house, etc. (here the entire legend is repeated).

The women started to laugh. "Avayurupiagua led your wife away," they said.

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1. Probably flamingo.

SP 10
Chane SF8

/284 cont./

Ce 539 He asked them who their father was. "He has gone to Itica (2) to get some fish" (3), they said.

2. Rio Pilcomayo.

Ce [439] 3. The important trade in dried fish that is carried on between the tribes is described on p. 138 /omitted in the translation/.

The youngest said he should sleep with her, which he did. The oldest also wanted to sleep with him. "Won't your mother be angry if I do?" he said. "No, you shall sleep with us, for a man never comes here," they said. So he slept with both women.

After a few days the father of the girls came home. He brought along two large loads of dried fish. /285/ The father asked how he had got there. He told etc. (here the entire legend is repeated).

The father said he was not angry because he had slept with his two daughters and promised to help him get his wife back. "She is at Itica with Avayurupiagua," he said. "There is a big drinking bout there and we must go. You shall go with me and do as I say. First you should greet everybody and finally you should greet your wife. She will not recognize you. When she greets you and offers you maize beer, you will fling your arms about her and I shall hit you on the buttocks," he said. They now set out for Itica. When they arrived there, the father first greeted everyone. Finally the man greeted his wife. She offered him a calabash of maize beer. He embraced her and the old one slapped him on the buttocks. Transformed into a tuyuyu, he flew off with his wife. When Avayurupiagua saw this, he dashed angrily into his house to fetch bow and arrow. He shot off one arrow after the other, but was unable to hit them.

Ce [177] This legend seems to me to be entirely free of foreign elements. The ladder mentioned refers to a long stick into which step-notches have been cut. The Chiriguano in particular, as well

Ce [417] [343]

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[343]

/285 cont./
as the Chané on the Itiyuro, always use them for the maize granaries, which are built on piles (see Fig. 84b).

How Aguaratunpa Killed Tatutunpa and Was Then Killed Himself.

Told by the Chané chief Batirayu.

In olden times there were once two deranged girls. Not far from them lived Tatutunpa. They heard him play so beautifully on his "huiramimbi" (see Fig. 80a /see p. 22/). One of them said to the other: "Let us go and see who is playing so beautifully." They went to Tatutunpa, who was lying in his hammock. Tatutunpa took the youngest girl as his wife.

/286/ Aguaratunpa had learned that the girls had gone to Tatutunpa's. He set out, hid in the field where Tatutunpa was working, and killed him with a club. Then he carefully removed the skin of the head and put it on. Resembling Tatutunpa in this way, he went to the latter's hut.

"Look, your husband is coming," said the older sister. She put food on the table. Since Tatutunpa was in the habit of eating very little, only a few beans and a small bowl of maize beer, she did not serve any more. When Aguaratunpa came, he ate up everything and demanded more. When he had eaten this, he demanded still more. The girl asked herself whether this could really be her husband who was eating so much, but of course it could not be anyone else.

In the evening Aguaratunpa asked his wife to delouse him. She sat down and looked for lice on the head of Aguaratunpa. While she was looking, Aguaratunpa fell asleep. She saw that the skin on his head was sewed together, and realized that he had killed her husband and skinned him. She told her sister about this and they killed Aguaratunpa with a club.

/286 cont./

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[115]

The Man Who Burned Up Añatunpa.

Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambári on the Rio Grande.

When people gathered honey, Añatunpa (1) would find them and devour them.

Once there was a man who gathered honey. Then Añatunpa came and asked what he was doing. "I am gathering honey," said the man. "Continue," said Añatunpa. When the man had gathered enough, he killed him and tossed him to Dyóri, who devoured him and even licked up the blood. Añatunpa killed many people in this fashion.

A man had gone out to gather honey. The /287/ toucan (1) said to him: "If Añatunpa comes, ask him to carry you to his house and kill you there."

While the man was gathering honey, Añatunpa came. "What do you want?" asked the man.

"I want to eat you up," said Añatunpa.

"Do not do that here, but carry me to your house instead and eat me there," said the man. Añatunpa now took the man on his neck and carried him to his house.

"Break off branches and build a fire on Añatunpa's neck," said the toucan. When Añatunpa went through the thick /Fig. 130 appears here/ brush, the man broke off twigs and branches and carefully lighted a fire on Añatunpa's neck.

"If you come to a low branch, cling to it!" said the toucan to the man. This he did. Soon Añatunpa noticed that there was burning on his neck and he started to run. The fire grew. His hair caught fire, and soon Añatunpa burned up completely and died.

1. It is not said here which añatunpa is meant.

1. Rhamphastus.

/287 cont./

The Man Who Killed Añatunpa.

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[11 5]

Told by the Chiriguano Indian Tambéti on the Rio Grande.

Añatunpa devoured all the human beings that he could catch. A man came along who was carrying wood to Añatunpa's cave. "Come, let's play!" said Añatunpa.

/288/ "What kind of a game?" said the man.

"You shall give me a blow on the forehead with an ax, and if I do not die, I shall hit you," said Añatunpa.

Añatunpa stood up straight, offered his forehead to the man, and the latter hit him directly in the middle of it. Since Añatunpa's forehead was as hard as iron, this did not affect him. Añatunpa now gave the man a blow on the forehead, killed him, and tossed

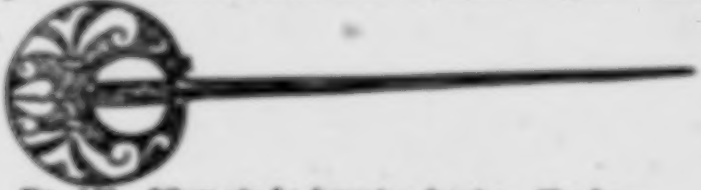

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Fig. 130. Silver pin for fastening the tiru. The form Indian, the ornamentation Spanish. Chiriguano. Parapiti, 1/1.

539 him to Dyári, who devoured him.

On another occasion another man came to Añatunpa's cave. Añatunpa proposed the same game to him. Then a fly, "Mbéru," called to him not to hit him on the forehead, but in the nape of the neck. When Añatunpa, with eyes closed, stood up to receive the blow, the man went behind him, struck him in the nape of the neck, and Añatunpa fell down dead. Dyári asked him how he was able to kill Añatunpa. The man told him what Mbéru had said.

"Very good," said Dyári.

Chane SF8

/288 cont./

539 How Bisose Fetched Riches out of the Mountain.

[115] Told by the Chané Indian Batirayu.

A Chané, Bisose, wanted to fish in a deep pool. At first he caught many small fish. Suddenly he caught such a large fish that he was unable to pull it up. First he walked around the pool, because he was afraid to go in. Finally he stepped cautiously into the water, following the line with his hand. When he reached the deep water, he felt someone take hold of his leg and pull him into the depths. It was the big snake "Boyhuatu." It led Bisose around in the mountains and to Los Campos del Guanaco. Finally it led him through a narrow pass into the mountain. There it gave him blue stones and silver. Bisose loaded himself with them. When he tried to get out of the pass, it was so narrow that /289/ he could take only a little along. That is why these stones and silver things are so rare. Boyhuatu then led him back to the pool. He came out at the same place where he had gone into the water.

[301] In this legend blue stones are mentioned among the treasures that Bisose brought out of the depths. These Indians greatly treasure pierced turquoise and chrysocolla as beads for necklaces.

The Fox and the Jaguar.

[115] Told by the Chané chief Böyra.

The fox met the jaguar in his field. The latter was busy sowing.

"Do you want me to help you, Uncle?" said the fox.

"Yes, Nephew. I want to get the digging sticks," said the jaguar.

"I will do that," said the fox and went to the hut of the jaguar.

Chane SF-8

/289 cont./

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When he arrived there, he said to the wife of the jaguar: "I am ashamed to tell you my request."

"Why?" she said.

"Well," said the fox, "the jaguar sent me here to sleep with you and your two daughters." The wife of the jaguar did not believe that.

"Yes, it is true," said the fox. "You shall hear what he says," and then he called: "Shall I take them all?"

"All," the jaguar called in response.

The fox then slept first with the wife of the jaguar and then with the elder daughter and then the younger one. She was still a virgin, and he hurt her (1). Then the fox went

1. Modified.

away. He ran in the grass so that his tracks would not be visible. He leaped onto a long tree trunk. Finally /290/ he came to a pool. He dived under and came out again on the other side. He ran as fast as he could until he came to a tree with a thorny trunk. He crawled up it and lay down to sleep. "Here I shall lie and dream about the wife and the daughters of the jaguar with whom I slept," said the fox. He lay down and went to sleep. /Fig. 131 appears here./

When the jaguar realized that the fox was not coming back with the digging sticks, he thought: "I must see what has become of the fox. That fox is certainly a swindler."

When the jaguar arrived home, his wife said to him: "How can you be so cruel and send the fox to sleep with us?"

Angrily the jaguar set out to hunt for the fox. He followed his tracks and came to the pool where the tracks of the fox came to an end. He looked for him everywhere. Finally he realized that the fox had dived into the pool. The jaguar then dived under too and found the tracks of the fox on the other side. He followed them and came to the tree. He hunted all around the tree for the continuation of the tracks, but could not find them. Then he looked up and saw the fox, who was sleeping. He climbed up, carefully broke off a twig, and tickled the fox

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/290 cont./

in the nostrils. The fox sneezed, wiped his nose, and said: "Can the mosquitoes not leave me in peace just when I am dreaming about the jaguar's wife and daughters with whom I slept!"

/291/ Now the jaguar tickled him a little more strongly, and the fox woke up. The jaguar prepared to seize him.

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The fox hunched himself up, and when the jaguar hesitated before seizing him, he jumped to the ground with one bound and started running as fast as he could. The jaguar ran after him. Finally the fox grew tired, however, and the jaguar caught him and swallowed him. The fox came to life again in the stomach of the jaguar. The latter threw him up. The jaguar devoured the fox again, but again the latter came to life in his stomach and was thrown up again. Once more the jaguar devoured the fox, who again came to life, etc.

This legend is widespread. In somewhat different form I heard it told in Carmen in Mojos.

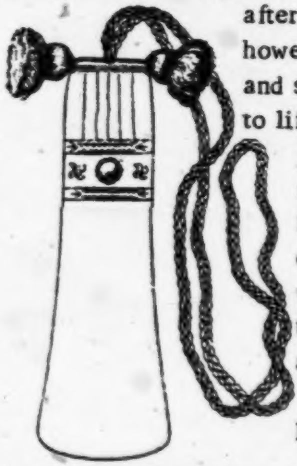

Fig.131. Silver chest-ornament. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. Worn by men.

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When the Turtle "Carumbe" Killed the Jaguar.

Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambâsi.

Once there was a great drinking bout. Aguaratunpa, Carumbe, and "Taturapua" (the ball armadillo) were there. The little son of the turtle was crying. When they asked him why he was crying, he said he wanted to have the claws of the jaguar to play with. The wife of the turtle told her husband he should fetch the claws of the jaguar so that the little one could play with them.

/291 cont./

539 The turtle set out and came to a "samuo" trunk with large, sharp thorns. He stool there and waited for the jaguar. In the distance he could hear his howling. The jaguar came closer, still howling, and found the turtle at the foot of the tree.

"What are you doing here?" said the jaguar.

"I am playing," said the turtle.

"What are you playing?" said the jaguar.

"I climb up the samuo and then I roll down," said the turtle.

"Let me see," said the jaguar, who had a desire to devour the turtle.

/292/ The latter climbed the trunk up to the crown and rolled down without injuring itself. This amused the jaguar, and the turtle had to climb up again. Once more it rolled down without injuring itself. The jaguar wanted to try it too. He climbed up and rolled down, but tore open his entrails on the thorns and died.

The turtle took home the claws of the jaguar as playthings for his little son.

The Love Story of the Hummingbird.

[115] Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambási.

There were two girls who heard Chinu (hummingbird) play the flute. He played so beautifully that one of the girls said: "I want him as my husband." She went to the hummingbird and slept with him.

"Let us go into my house," said the hummingbird. When they got there, it was so small that there was no room for the girl. She therefore went back to her village.

In the evening the hummingbird came to the edge of the village and played the flute, in order to lure her. The girl listened and said: "It is the hummingbird who is playing." But she did not go back to him. Every evening the hummingbird

/292 cont./

539 came to the edge of the village and played his most beautiful airs, but the girl did not want to go with one who had such a little hut.

When the Tick, Yatẽu, Ran a Race with the Ostrich, Yãndu.

The tick and the ostrich wanted to put on a race to see who could run better. When they started running, the tick hopped on the ostrich and dug itself into the corner of its eye.

When the ostrich had run a short distance, it glanced sideways to see whether the tick was coming along. Since it was in the corner of its eye, it saw it at one side.

/293/ The ostrich hurried on. When it had run a stretch, it again glanced to one side and saw that the tick was still at its side.

The ostrich ran with might and main. When it was quite close to the goal, the tick hopped out of the corner of its eye and arrived there first.

The tick had won the race.

539 /71/ These little animal stories have a very widespread distribution. Thus, we find the story of the turtle and the jaguar almost unchanged in Santarem, at the confluence of the Rio Tapajo and the Amazon River (1).

Similar stories about foot races are also known from the coast of Brazil (1) /see footnote 1 above/. These last are found among us too, as is well known.

It has been proved (2), as was mentioned, that certain legends from North America and Asia have traveled as far as

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[43] 1. Cf. Fredr. Hartt: *Tortoise Myths*. Rio de Janeiro, 1875.

2. Ehrenreich: *loc. cit.*

c /293 cont./
539 South America. Since, however, this is not the proper place
171 for comparative studies with regard to the legends collected
by me, I have contented myself with only presenting the ma-
c terial.

539 As we have seen, we learn to understand some of the
religious conceptions of the Indians from the legends. They
are also interesting from the viewpoint that a whole assortment
of little features from the life of the Indians is repro-
c duced. They give us a glimpse into their imaginative life.

539 Only the content of the legends collected by me, not
114 the form, is usable as research material. I hope that the
126 native South American ethnographers in particular will add to
the collection made by me and also write down the legends
in the original languages. In order to be able to do this,
however, a complete /294/ mastery of them will be necessary.
The best method would be to let the Indians tell these legends
into a phonograph.

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The Indians and Natural Phenomena.

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[773] In one of the Chané legends the story is told of how
Yahuéte, the two-headed jaguar, was on the point of de-
c Cc vouring the moon. Maringay called Yahuéte "Yahuaróhui."
[776] These Indians explain eclipses of the sun and moon by saying
c Cc that the sun and moon are attacked by Yahuéte. The Choroti,
[171] too, as has been mentioned, speak of a predatory animal that
[776] attacks the sun and the moon.

If one wanders with an Indian through forest and
meadow on a starlit night, the starry sky is his compass and
his watch. He will point to Orion or some other constellation
Cc and show how much farther it will move before one arrives.
821 He does not give names to many constellations, but he
knows them all. The Chané call the part of the Milky Way
nearest the Southern Cross "yándurape," that is, ostrich-way;
the Southern Cross, along with a few adjacent stars, is

Ce /294 cont./
821 "yãnduinyaka," the head of the ostrich; the two largest stars in Centaurus are "yãnduipoy," necklace of the ostrich; Venus is called "coemilla," morning; Orion with the sword "hũirayũasa" (birds meet). Another constellation is "huãzupucu," roebuck horn; another, "borẽvi," tapir. They call the Pleiades "ychu," but they do not know the meaning of the name, and this is the most important constellation of all.

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821 If one sits with the Indians in their huts, they can indicate the position of the most important constellations in the sky without seeing them. They know their position at all times of the year.

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[241] The starry sky is not only the watch and the compass of the Indians. It is also their calendar. In this the Pleiades play an especially important part here, as among other Indians. When they first /295/ become visible on the horizon at dawn, the proper time has come for the sowing of maize. The fact that this relatively unimportant constellation plays such an important role in the astronomy of the Indians has given rise to fantastic speculations about Babylonian influence.

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821 If one asks Indians about the size of the stars and their distance from us, they stand there perplexed and prefer not to answer at all. They understand, however, that they must be far away.

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773 The stars do not play an important role in the legends. The Chiriguano chief Maringay, however, said there was once a brother who was playing with his little sister. They tried to catch each other, they sang and jumped. Now they are sitting in the firmament as two stars.

Two clusters of stars in the southern part of the southern firmament are the ashes of an old man and an old woman, a Chiriguano once told me. It was an evening in August.

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[821]
[773] In legends, the sun is a man and the moon a woman. The Chané children stole fire from an old man, the sun, and the two-headed Yahuéte hid under the tiru of the moon-woman when he was being pursued by the son of the armadillo-god.

SF10
Chane SF8

C /295 cont./
821 The waxing and waning of the moon, according to
Maringay's explanation, was caused by the fact that a larger
C or smaller piece of it is put in the firmament.

821 The sun rises over the water and then shines for us during
177 the day. In the evening it dips into the water again, and at
night it shines for the other human beings on the other side of
the earth. This was Maringay's idea of the course of the sun.
Ec I believe, however, that he learned this from the whites.

821 When a meteor, "baeréndi," falls, it means the death of
784. a chief. About a shooting star, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti said:
[763]. "He is going to sleep with his girl." Maringay was more
realistic in his explanation. "The star lets something fall,"
Ec said the old man.

821 /296/ When it thunders, Chiquéritunpa is walking about.
[789] The medicine men, "ipáye," are able to make rain. When
[825] the swallow, "máchurupimpi," flies low, it will rain, the
Indians say. Another bird, "chóncho," announces rain. If
[784] one is going traveling, one should not put a jug in water, but
[484] dip up the water with a calabash; otherwise it will rain. In a
Ce myth about the destruction of the world related to me by the
821 Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, the world is destroyed by water.
773. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti told me how the world was
Ce destroyed by a storm. Otherwise the wind plays an unimportant
821 role in the myths. If one places a warmed jug in flowing
[784] water, there will be a storm, say the Chané on the Rio
[825] Parapiti. The rainbow, "yii," is a snake.

/297/

Chapter Eighteen

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On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

The Catholic Missions among the Chiriguano

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Gradually all the Indians are bound to come under the influence of the whites. This is unavoidable. Day by day the areas in which they still live independently are diminishing. As soon as their territories have been conquered, they will be forced, in one way or another, to work for the whites and to become completely dependent on them. As a rule, they are also badly treated, exploited, and morally ruined. e

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In this unfortunate situation it is therefore fortunate that there have been and are self-sacrificing human beings who have done something and are willing to do something to help the Indians. These persons are the missionaries. It cannot be denied that they have tried and succeeded in doing important civilizing work among them. Enthusiasm and a willingness for self-sacrifice are required in order to become a missionary. No one could, for his own pleasure, spend his whole life in regions where the solitude must be terrible in the long run and where life offers no diversions or enjoyments.

For the missionary, the work of religious conversion is the most important thing. He wants to save souls from hell, "tatahuasurenda" (1). Fortunately, the Catholic missionaries are wise enough to /298/ think a little about this life and to strive for improvement in the material conditions of life of the Indians.

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1. Tatahuasurenda = where the big fire is. Guarani word invented by the missionaries.

SF10
Chane SF8

Ce /298 cont./

177 The Indian, who loves an independent life, but is forced
797 into the dance of civilization, does not want to become a
mission child, but chooses this as the lesser evil. In the mis-
Ce sion he is under guardians, but not under oppressors.

797 When my friend, the Chané Indian Batirayu, of whom I have spoken several times here, asked me whether it would not be best to ask the missionaries to come to the Chané on the Rio Parapiti, he thought of them as rescuers from the oppression of the white masters.

C 797 When I asked the Chiriguano chief Maringay whether he
did not want missionaries to come to his village, the old man
became quite indignant and said peevishly: "I have not done
Ee anything bad."

797 The greatest importance of the missionaries lies in the
177 fact that they try to protect the Indians from the oppression
and the vices of the whites. I have been pleased to see how the missionaries forbid liquor, the accursed liquor, in the mission stations.

Nevertheless, I do not believe in the future of the missions. It seems to me they are condemned to oblivion. To the extent that the Indians are given better treatment by the other whites and receive proper compensation for their work, they will leave the missions and forsake the guardianship of the Franciscan monks.

The missionaries, however, will always have the honor of having tried, at least to some extent, to protect the Indians from the other Christians. They have also earned honor for the studies they have made of the language, manners, and customs of the Indians.

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Fear of the Rubber Regions

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466 In a previous chapter I spoke of the migration of the
167 Indians to Argentina. In the /299/ northernmost territory of
the Chiriguano Indians another emigration is taking place. It differs from the first, among other things, by the fact that it is not voluntary. It concerns the rubber regions in northeastern

C /299 cont./
648 Bolivia. Every Indian who goes to the Argentine sugar factories
466 knows that, if there is no disaster, he will return. No one
[167] holds him back by force. From the rubber regions, on the other
[464] hand, no one ever returns.

Is it true, they say, that there is a giant there who devours human beings? Is it true that people /300/ are ground

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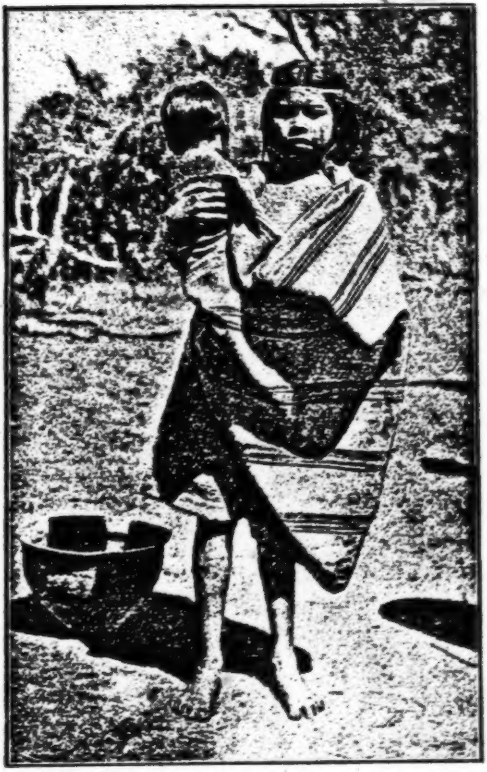

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Fig. 132. Chané children. Rio Parapiti.

648 up into rubber? Is it true that the meat that comes in tin cans
466 is from human beings? These are questions which the Indians
asked me.

The Chiriguano Indians, especially from the Caipipendi valley, were lured in a shameless manner to the rubber regions in northern

Chané SF8

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Bolivia, where they were sold as laborers. Under the guard of armed men, they were brought down the Rio Mamoré by way of Quatro-Ojos.

I shall have a better opportunity, however, to discuss the relations of the Indians to the rubber industry in the book in which I shall report on the studies which I made in the rubber regions themselves and among the Indians located near them (1).

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1. Appeared in Swedish under the title Indianer och hvita i nordöstra Bolivia, Stockholm, 1911.

I shall therefore not go into this question in greater detail here.

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Compulsory Service for the Whites

The Chiriguano and Chané who work as servants in their own country for the immigrant white race are extraordinarily poorly paid. This is especially true in the remote regions where the higher prices for labor in the Argentine sugar factories, as the result of competition, have not been able to react on wages. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti, for example, are seldom paid more than 20 centavos (not quite 35 pfennigs) per day with board. The women earn about half as much. The Indians are paid their wages partly in spirits and sugar, partly in cloth and tools. The cloth is so poor that a shirt made from such material does not last much longer than the time required to earn it. As a result of this system, the Chané and Chiriguano, like their fellow-tribesmen in the rubber regions in northeastern Bolivia, sink into debt slavery.

/301/ It is to be hoped that the large projects initiated by the engineer Herrmann in San Franzisko on the Rio Pilcomayo will improve the Indian wage situation generally. If he will pay better than others, all the Indians will come to him, and the other employers will have to increase their wages.

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Thus, the Chiriguano and Chané are on the direct road to being drawn into the anything but fortunate struggle between employer and employee.

The Bolivian government should see to it that the fields of the Indians are entered in the land register, so that whites cannot take possession of them. The government should also make it a condition that no Indian may sell his land. In this way the government would guarantee the Indians the right of occupation of the land, but not the right of ownership.

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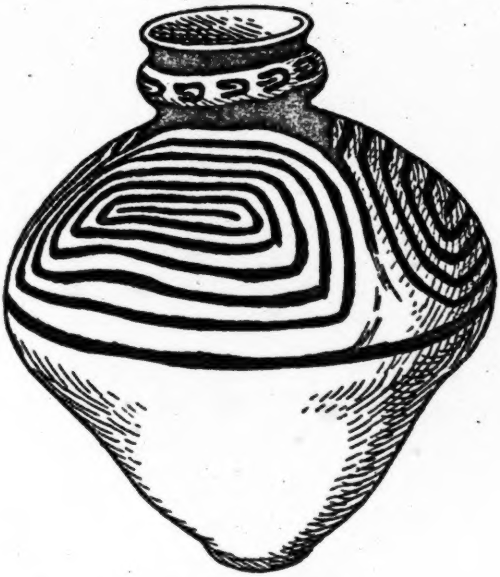

Fig. 133. Clay vessel. - 1/9.
Chiriguano. Caipipendi.

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/302/ The uncertainty and the oppressive wage conditions under which these Indians live naturally lead to emigration to Argentina and, above all, to the circumstance that many Indians abandon the land, not only as seasonal workers, but forever.

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If the Bolivian government wishes to do something for the Indians, it must first of all try to find a remedy for the worst evil, namely, alcoholism. There is a tremendous difference between drinking maize beer and liquor.

6: Nordenskiöld--152 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ec /302 cont./

648 273 177 An Indian who has become intoxicated on native beverages is never as eager for quarrels and brawls as one who has tasted the infernal soup of the whites. Besides the fact that liquor damages the moral life and health of the Indians, it ruins them completely. I have seen with my own eyes how an Indian can give away his best cow for a keg of spirits.

Distilling for private consumption is still permitted in Bolivia. It should be forbidden, and likewise that anyone may sell alcohol any place he wishes.

Ec 648 177 The Bolivian military law that forces the Indian to perform military duty is quite unreasonable. It is very seldom enforced, to be sure, but when it is, and when the authorities come to get a young man for military service, he himself and all the other Indians of the region along with him are beside themselves with fright. One cannot demand that the Indians take part in the defense of the fatherland before they have the same rights as other citizens and know what their fatherland is.

It is unjust to demand that they should help to defend Bolivia, to defend the whites, who, according to their ideas, have stolen their land from them. The Chiriguano and Chané likewise love their country, but their fatherland is only the valleys and forests in which their fathers made clearings and their mothers painted clay vessels for the festivals.

Ec [484] During the period of development which Bolivia is now experiencing, /303/ it is important to make use of Indian labor even here in the land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians.

800 In spite of their unique culture, I have no great hopes for the future of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians. They will, however, become incorporated as an important element of the mestizo race, which in the future will be the sole rulers of the xerophytic forests of the Parapiti valley and the last spurs of the Andes toward El Gran Chaco.

Gradually they will probably forget their legends about Tatutunpa and Aguaratunpa and the other gods.

/303 cont./

000 The descendants of Maringay, Vocapoy, and the others will then perhaps study what has been written about their forefathers in this book, which is printed in a country where maize does not ripen and palms grow only under glass. They will perhaps fly to the north in order to see the ornaments with which the old people were adorned and the beautifully painted drinking vessels in which their ancestresses served maize beer at the festivals. /Ch. 19-20 and the Conclusion, pp. 304-330, are omitted in the translation. In the original work, the List of Illustrations, pp. 331-335, which is translated, is followed by an Alphabetical Index, pp. 336-343, which is not included in the translation, but appears with the foreign text. The errata listed on p. 343 have been corrected in the text./

/331/ List of Illustrations

/It is to be noted in connection with the captions where the author gives the size of an illustration relative to the original object that this refers to the illustration as shown in the original text. The reproductions of the illustrations for this translation are somewhat smaller./

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/Plates 1-15 are omitted in the translation./

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/331 cont./

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Figures in the Text:

/Figs. 1-73, listed on pages 331-333, are omitted in the translation./

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/Figs. 134-142, listed on pp. 334-335, are omitted in the translation./

6: Nordenskiöld--156 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Mataco SI7
Choroti SK6
Chane SF1

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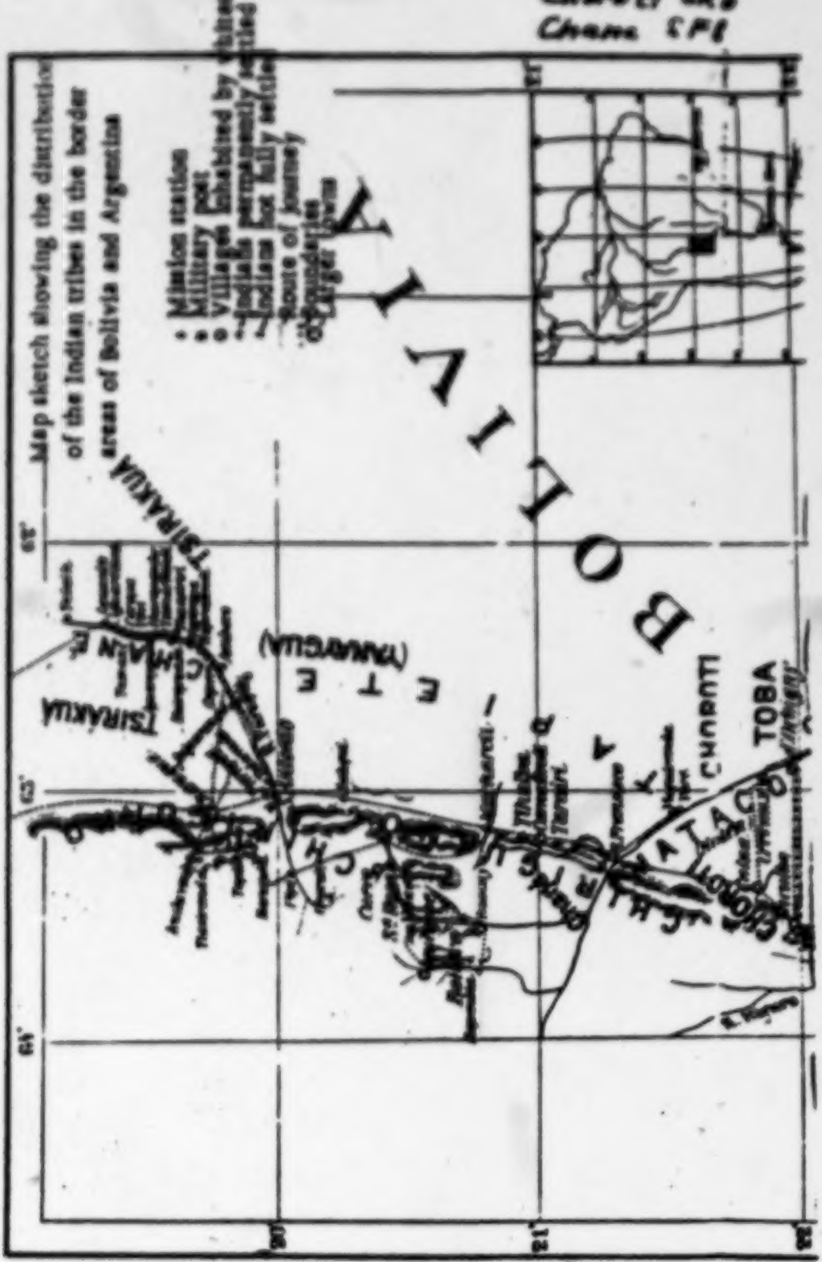
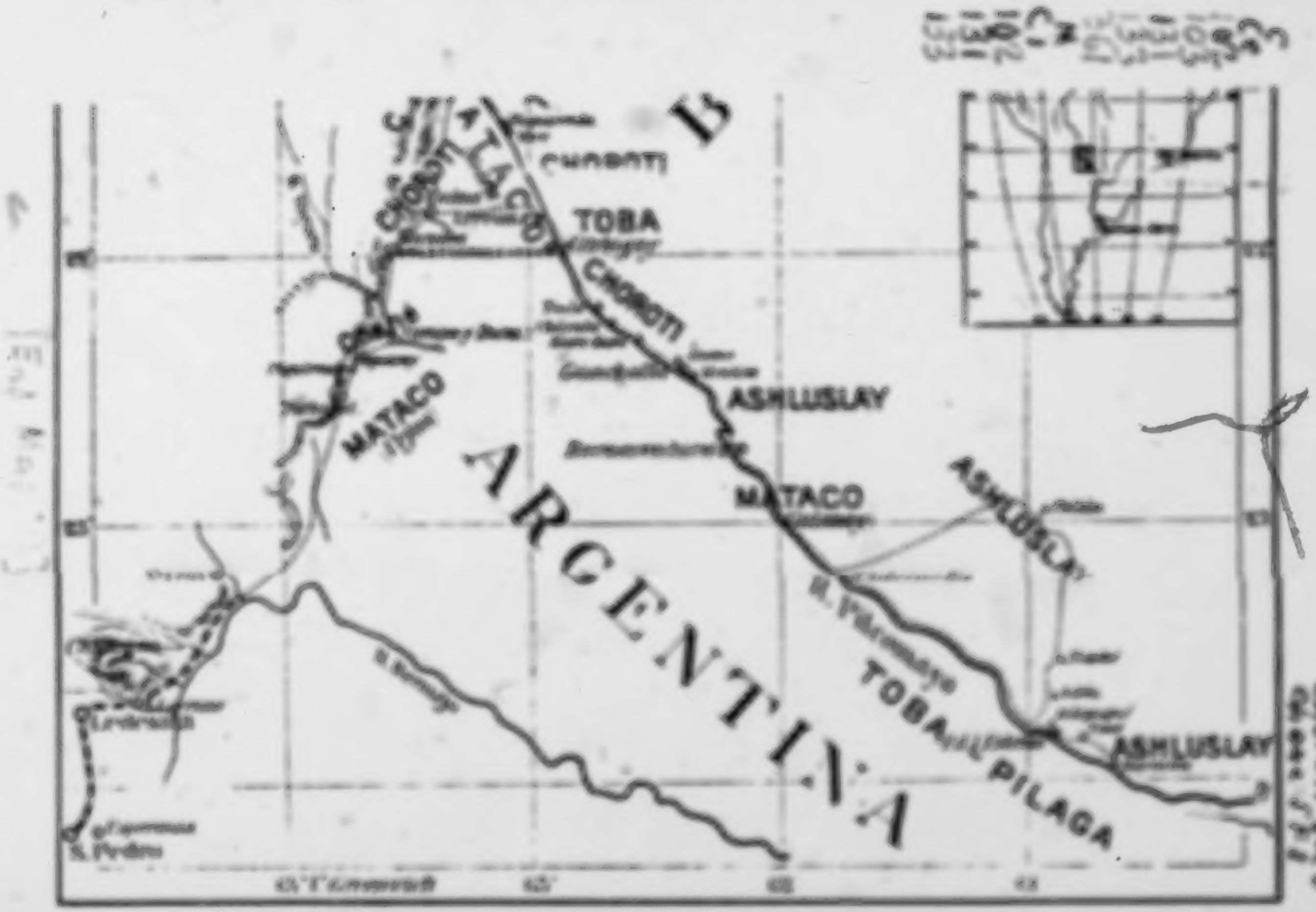

Map sketch showing the distribution of the Indian tribes in the border areas of Bolivia and Argentina
Mission station
Military post
Villages inhabited by whites
Indians permanently settled
Indians not fully settled
Route of journey
Boundaries
Larger towns
BOLIVIA
TSIRÁKUÁ
TSIRÁKUÁ
CHANE
ETE
(YANAYGUA)
TAPIETE
CHIRIGUANO
CHANE
MATACO
CHOROTI
TOBA
Tarairi
20°
21°
22°
62°
63°
64°

[End Map,(A)]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CHOROTI
MATACO
CHOROTI
TOBA
CHOROTI
MATACO
ASHLUSLAY
ARGENTINA
MATACO
ASHLUSLAY
R. Pilcomayo
TOBA
PILAGA
ASHLUSLAY